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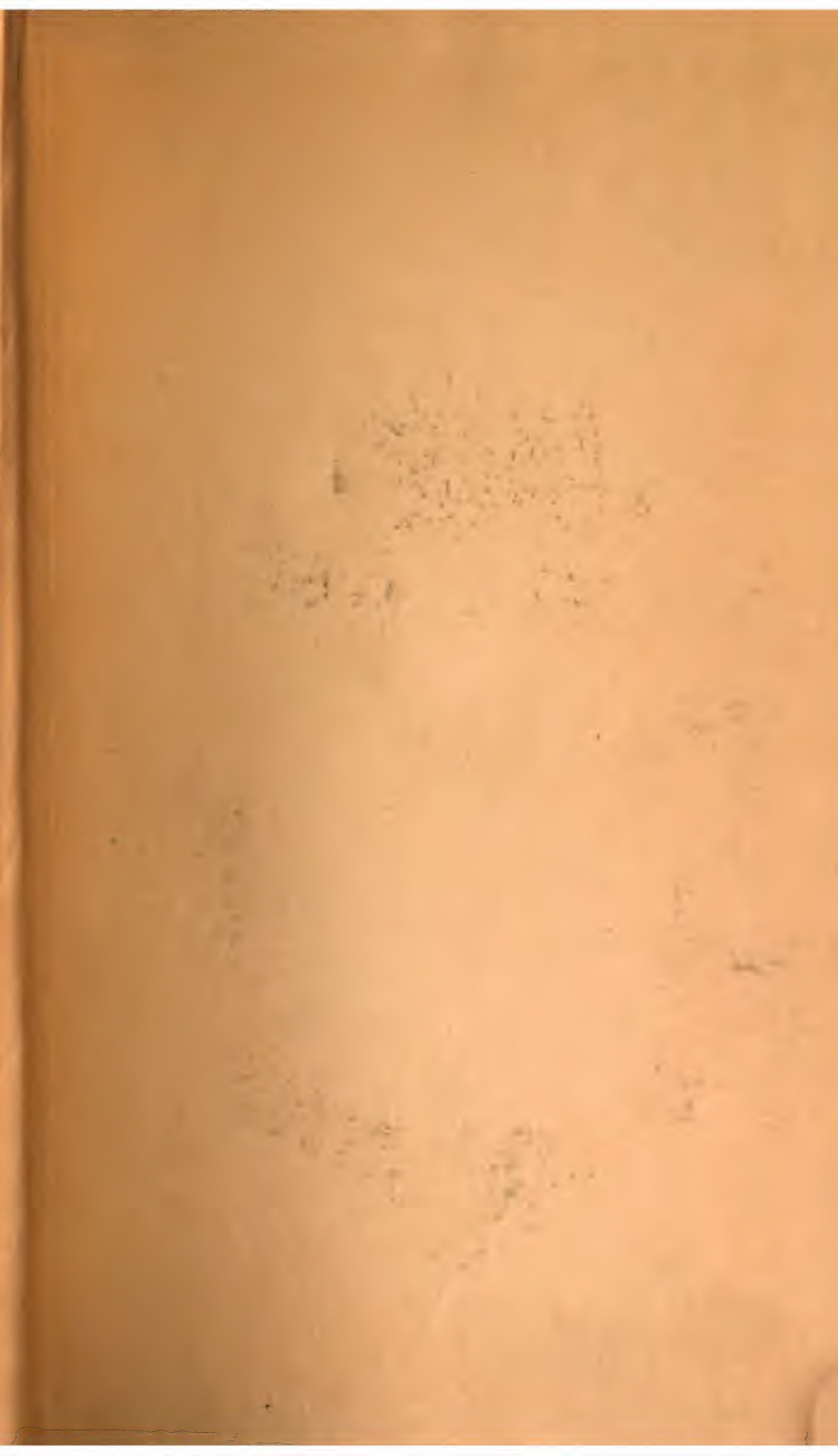
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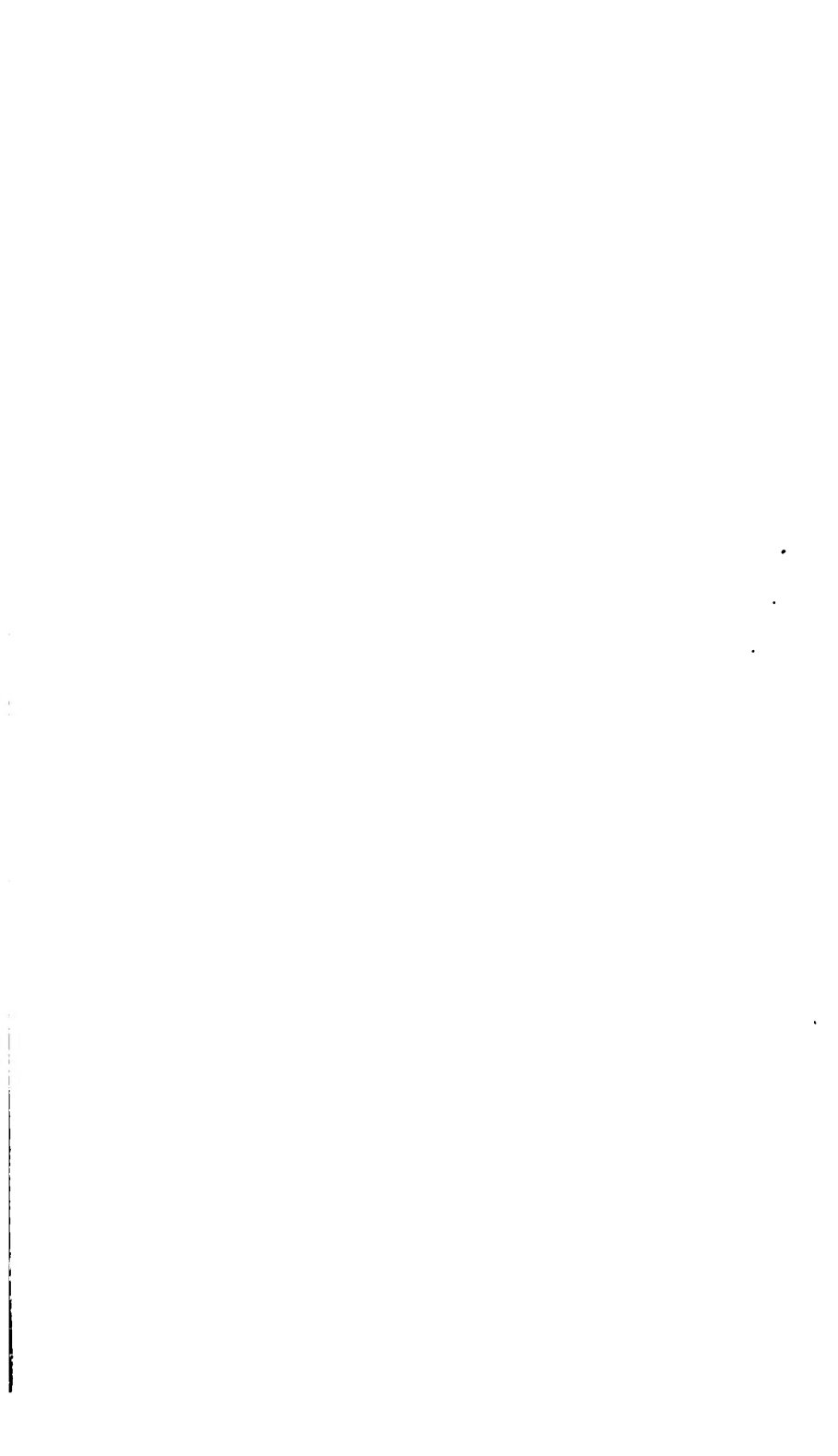


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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PUBLIC REVENUE
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.

CONTAINING

An Account of the public Income and Expenditure from the remotest Periods recorded in History, to Michaelmas 1802, With an Account of the Revenue of Scotland and Ireland, and an Analysis of the Sources of public Revenue in general.

By Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, Baronet, M. P.

IL N'Y A RIEN QUE LA SAGESSE, ET LA PRUDENCE DOIVENT PLUS REGLER, QUE CETTE PORTION QU'ON ÔTE, ET CETTE PORTION QU'ON LAISSE AUX SUJETS.

L'ESPRIT DES LOIX, l. xiii. c. i.

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TO
MY SON,
GEORGE SINCLAIR.

DEDICATIONS are presented, with peculiar propriety, to those for whom an author feels a high degree of regard, and of whom he entertains a most favourable opinion: to whom then, my dear Son, can these volumes be more properly inscribed, than to you? for though they relate to subjects which require deep thought, and serious reflection, and consequently are but little calculated for the perusal and consideration of youth, yet I trust they will become, in due time, on that very account, more conformable to your taste. Instead, however, of that strain of flattery, too common on such occasions, I am anxious to embrace this public opportunity, through the medium of this Dedication, of inculcating sentiments, which, I trust, you will judge to be in every respect worthy, not only of your

own attention, but also of being transmitted to your latest posterity.

You may remember how an ancient warrior, when his Son was only nine years of age, compelled him to swear eternal enmity to the Romans. I wish not to imitate that example of vindictive policy, or national resentment: on the contrary, I shall rejoice most sincerely, were you to pledge yourself, at an early period of life, to objects of a very different nature, namely to that of promoting, by every possible exertion, not only the prosperity and improvement of your own country, but also the general happiness and interests of mankind. Such pursuits may not lead either to power or fortune. Much superior advantages, however, will always follow them. You will thus obtain, the respect of real merit—the approbation of your own conscience—and the acquisition of honourable fame.

Let me now call your attention to the reason which chiefly induced me to address you on the present occasion.

You know well that I have principally employed my leisure hours, in carrying on various useful inquiries, connected with finance, agriculture, the means of preserving health,
and

DEDICATION.

and what may be called statistical philosophy, or the organization of great political communities. It is not for me to mention the progress which has been made in those studies, both by myself and others, since I first called the public attention to those subjects. Let these volumes on the Revenue, the Statistical Account of Scotland, and the collections I have made on the subjects of Agriculture and Longevity, speak for themselves. I would only ask, why should not literary occupations and pursuits, descend like honours and estates, from father to son? What more ardent wish can I entertain, than to see you prosecute those studies, in which the most considerable part of my life has been employed. Should your disposition and taste incline you to such pursuits, I would fondly hope, that on the foundation which I have laid, you may raise a superstructure, equalling any rival works likely to be produced on those great and interesting topics. By following that line, you will not only establish the respectability of your own character, but may also materially contribute to the general happiness of mankind. Let this, then, my dear Son, be our claim to the affection and esteem of our countrymen; that whilst other

families can boast of superior power, of greater wealth, and of higher titles, we have endeavoured to prove ourselves, the friends of our country, and the benefactors of the human race.

JOHN SINCLAIR.

LONDON,
15th *June*, 1804.

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THE
HISTORY
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PUBLIC REVENUE
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.

PART IV.

CHAP. I.

*Analysis of the National Debt, as it stands at present,
(An. 1804) with some Observations on the Nature
and real Amount of the Burden, and the Means of
discharging it.*

THE incumbrances of this nation are involved in such confusion, owing to the different companies, and the numerous other proprietors, to whom the capitals belong;—to the various rates of interest which the public creditors receive; (some part of the debt being at 3, some at 4, and some at 5 per cent.; and in one instance, namely the *Deferred Stock*,

as it is called, not yet bearing any interest at all);—to the several periods at which they were contracted;—to the duration of the different funds themselves, some of which are only temporary, whilst others are perpetual;—and to the great difference between the actual and the nominal amount of the debt; &c. &c. that it is very difficult to form a just idea of the subject. Such a discussion, indeed, must prove dry and unpleasing: but as it is impossible to understand the real nature and extent of this load upon the public, without analysing, with some degree of minuteness, the various articles of which it consists; it is therefore hoped that the following information upon so important a subject will not be unacceptable.

Our debts may be divided, first, into two great branches, namely the funded and the unfunded.

1. FUNDED DEBTS.

Funded debts are those for paying the interest, and sometimes for discharging the principal of which some branch of the revenue is mortgaged. They are of two kinds, *Perpetual* and *Temporary*. The first are granted for ever, unless redeemed by parliament: the second expire either with the life of the person to whom such an annuity has been sold, or his nominee, or at a certain period fixed upon by the original contract.

1. *Perpetual annuities.*

It is natural at first to entertain a degree of dread and horror at the mention of perpetual incumbrances.

brances. To load a nation *for ever*, with a burden, merely to obtain a little temporary benefit, or to avoid a trifling inconvenience for the moment, seems to be inconsistent with the soundest principles of justice and equity. What have we to do, it may be said, with the wars into which our ancestors rashly entered? If they thought them necessary, they ought to have maintained them at their own expence; nor did we ever give the parliaments of King William, or Queen Anne, any authority to waste our money in hostilities, from which we have derived no sensible advantage.

That preceding parliaments and former ministers have been abundantly prodigal of the public money, cannot be denied. But, greatly as they have been to blame, we should be much more culpable, if, to the best of our abilities, we did not discharge any obligations contracted by the authority, and in the name of the State, which ought ever to be held sacred. If in private life that man holds the most honourable rank among his fellow-citizens, who is the most anxious to fulfil his engagements; and if instances are not wanting of individuals, who have paid off the debts of their ancestors, from whom they inherited no wealth, and whose incumbrances they were not bound to discharge; how much more is such a system of conduct incumbent upon a great community?

Besides, though our ancestors were very far from being niggardly in their public expenditure; and though the wars in which they were engaged, were

not always necessary for the safety and interest of the nation ; and though, of consequence, they have left us an estate deeply, and sometimes unnecessarily, loaded ; yet is not the burden of the mortgage greatly alleviated by this consideration, that the property on which it is placed, joined to all the rights and privileges thereunto appertaining, is almost invaluable ? The stock and capital of the kingdom exceed, in real worth, twelve, perhaps fifteen hundred millions. The value of the various dependencies bequeathed to us by our predecessors, is not only considerable, but beyond what any other nation ever was possessed of ; and those liberties and that constitution which we also inherit from them, and for the preservation of which so much blood and treasure have been spent, let us not rashly despise. Were they wanting, we should probably estimate their price at many millions.

Let us examine, therefore, with a manly and undaunted spirit, the situation in which we are placed, that we may be the better enabled to judge what steps are proper, and indeed necessary, to be taken, for the preservation of our public credit, the honour of these times, and the happiness of our posterity.

The perpetual annuities are due either to trading companies, who, in addition to the annuity they receive from the public, enjoy the profit of lucrative privileges granted to them as an additional premium, or to a number of unconnected individuals, who are paid merely a certain annual interest.

The

The first in point of time, and now the greatest ^{The Bank,} in point of capital, of our trading and funded companies, is the Bank of England.

Many attempts were made to bring such an institution to bear, before the present Bank was established.

Soon after the Restoration, it was proposed to erect *an office of credit* for the reception of goods and merchandise; for the appraised value of which, notes were to be issued, which it was imagined the merchant would find less difficulty in negotiating, than in borrowing upon the goods themselves^a: and such a plan might be attended with considerable advantages to commerce, if commodities were now to be warehoused in public repositories, a proper receipt given by an officer appointed for that purpose, and the property of goods to be transferred by indorsements upon such receipts. The high duties to which all commodities are now subject, render every plan for the ease and convenience of trade more necessary than ever.

It was in the year 1678 that Dr. Lewis, an eminent clergyman, published his *Model of a Bank*, with some observations on the great advantages that would accrue from it, to the crown and to the people^b. But who could venture, in the reign of

^a See a Description of the Office of Credit, &c. &c. and the Objections hitherto made against it fully answered; printed *anno* 1665.

^b Proposals to the King and Parliament of a large Model of a Bank; by Matthew Lewis, D.D. Printed by Henry Mellion, *anno* 1678.

a rash, desperate, and needy monarch like Charles II. to trust their property in any place which he might be tempted to invade, and to which he could possibly find access?

The same circumstance prevented the establishment of a bank *anno* 1683. By letters patent from the crown, a company had been erected, called the Royal Fishery of England, instituted for the purpose of carrying on that branch of commerce with advantage to this country, and, indeed, with the hopes of depriving the Dutch of the profits they acquired by fishing upon our coasts. Upon this company, it appears, that a *general bank of credit* was engrafted^c: but though the plan was supported by persons of considerable character and property, neither the state of the government, nor the temper of the times, were calculated for such an institution; and consequently it was soon dropped.

Origin of
the Bank.
An. 1694.

The present Bank of England was established *anno* 1694^d. It was suggested by William Pater-son, a Scotchman of great natural abilities, (who was afterwards one of the original Directors); and carried through by the influence of Michael Godfrey, a gentleman of considerable influence in the city, who was appointed the first Deputy Governor, to whom he had communicated the plan^e.

Nothing

^c See an Account of the Constitution of the General Bank of Credit; printed *anno* 1683.

^d By 5 Will. and Mary, cap. 20. The charter from the crown is dated July 27, 1694.

^e See Allandycce on the Bank of England, Appendix, p. 130. Pater-son seems to have been possessed of fertile genius, a clear and

Nothing can more clearly prove the low state of our public credit, and the great scarcity of specie at that time, than the terms which parliament found itself under the necessity to grant. For the sake of receiving £.1,200,000 government agreed to pay not only interest, at the rate of 8 *per cent.* and 4000*l.* for the expence of management; but the subscribers were also erected into a corporate body for the purpose of carrying on the lucrative trade of banking. It was expected, however, that the circulation of their notes, and the establishment of paper credit, would greatly facilitate the raising of supplies, and prove a general ease and accommodation to the public in all pecuniary transactions.

It was difficult at first to reconcile the nation at large to this institution.

By some it was contended, that it was impossible to erect a bank in any country where the government was not republican; and if once established in England, that we ran the utmost hazard of being made subject to a commonwealth. Others were convinced, that the effect would be, to render the king absolute, to whom it was said the monied interest would naturally adhere for encouragement and protection. Some undertook to prove, that it would enhance the price of land; and utterly discourage, if not ruin, trade: whilst others asserted,

and enlightened understanding, and a firm and constant mind, with a sufficient share of that ardour and spirit of enterprise, by which his countrymen are distinguished. A history of this extraordinary person is much wanted.

that the Bank would prove so easy, profitable, and secure, for payments and receipts, that all the money in the nation would naturally run into trade; and none would remain either to purchase or to improve any landed property in the kingdom. But it was prophesied, at the time, that the advantages of such an undertaking, like all other great things in trade, would be best understood from experience; "and the time" (it was said) "would come, when these conceived hobgoblins, frightful monsters, and horrid spectres, with which some are possessed about it, should vanish, and be no more[†]."

But if ill-founded and chimerical objections were made to this institution by its foes, those who supported it held forth to the public arguments in its favour equally fallacious, and expectations which it was impossible to fulfil.

A text in Scripture was every where circulated in order to *sanctify* the measure; and its friends were perpetually declaiming on this passage—"Wherefore, then, gavest not thou my money into *the Bank*, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury[‡]?"

But interest was supposed to be a more powerful inducement with mankind in general, and in particular with wealthy individuals, to support such a scheme, than any religious recommendation. Accordingly, it was stated, that, by such means, the rich might have their personal property secured

[†] See a Brief Account of the intended Bank of England; printed for Randal Taylor, anno 1694, p. 17.

[‡] Luke, chap. xix. verse 23.

from every risk, and might enjoy, at the same time, great pecuniary advantages. The landed gentlemen, who formerly could not borrow four thousand pounds upon an estate of one thousand pounds a year, without additional personal security, might now, (it was said,) borrow four thousand pounds, upon three hundred pounds *per annum*. The merchant who brought a cargo to England worth three thousand pounds, might have money to that amount at the Bank, without the smallest difficulty, and might thus carry on his traffick to additional advantage : and, to sum up all in a few words, “it would render the sovereign great, the gentry rich, the farmer flourishing: our commerce would increase, our ships multiply, our seamen would never want employment; new manufacturers would be set up, and the old greatly encouraged.”

The public, by such arguments as these, being impressed with a favourable idea of the measure, on the 16th of June 1694, a commission was issued under the great seal, for taking subscriptions. On the 21st of June, the commissioners attended for the first time, at Mercers Chapel. Nearly £.300,000 were subscribed the first day; £.200,000 the second, and as much on the third: and before the second of July, the whole sum was made up. The success was beyond expectation; for it had

^a England's Glory by a Royal Bank, printed *anno* 1694; principally taken from Dr. Lewis's former publication.

been

been thought necessary to make provisions in the bill, on the supposition that only £. 600,000 might be subscribed.

Thus the Bank was established; but it was entitled to no exclusive privilege of banking. It was merely erected into a corporation, which it was in the power of the public, upon one year's notice after the 1st of August 1705, to annihilate, by repaying the money that was borrowed.

First pro-
longation.
An. 1697.

But the public soon experienced the vanity of the delusive prognostications, which it had been led to entertain, respecting the sudden advantages to be derived from this institution. The Bank, instead of supporting the credit of the nation, was unable to maintain its own. In the year 1696, it was found necessary to appoint a committee of the house of commons to inspect their books, and to examine certain accounts with regard to their situation which they had given in to the house¹. The report of this committee contains several curious particulars². It appears that £. 893,800 were issued in *sealed* Bank bills, which bore an interest of 6 *per cent*¹. £. 68,669 in specie notes, which, when exceeding

¹ Comm. Journ. vol. 12. p. 614, 615.

² Ibid. p. 621. It is said that this stoppage was owing to the Bank being unable to get from the mint a sufficient quantity of new coin to answer the daily demands against them during the great recoinage; and its difficulties were increased by the great discount upon all public securities. See Fairman's Stocks examined and compared, p. 29.

¹ I suppose having *the seal* of the corporation annexed to them.

£.20 were paid an interest at the same rate; and that the notes bearing no interest amounted to £.695,527, but they were at a very great discount. It farther appears, that a balance of £.300,000 was due to the States of Holland for money advanced by them. As this debt is called *a balance*, it must have been originally more considerable. It is uncertain whether this sum was borrowed by the Bank in order to carry on the original purposes of its establishment, or arose from a credit which the company gave to the king, to enable him to procure money on the continent for carrying on the war^a. Only £.42,160 were issued on private loans and mortgages.

In consequence of this inquiry, and in order to clear the market of a part of a load then so much in disrepute; not without hopes also, by such means, of restoring the credit of the nation then at the lowest ebb; an act was passed^a for enlarging the capital of the Bank of England by ingrafting upon its stock new subscriptions, four-fifths of which were to consist of Exchequer tallies, and the remaining fifth in Bank notes; and government agreed to allow interest, at the rate of 8 *per cent.* upon such tallies, until they were paid off. The term which had been granted to the Bank was also prolonged to the 1st of August 1710; and during

^a See the Arguments for and against ingrafting upon the Bank; in a Letter to a Friend, p. 12.

^a 8 Will. cap. 20.

the continuance of the corporation, no other bank or fellowship of that nature was to be erected, suffered, or countenanced, by act of parliament. It was expected that £.3,600,000 would have been ingrafted; instead of which, the subscriptions amounted only to £.1,001,171 : 10. But even this operation, though only on a smaller scale, was attended with considerable advantage: for about £.200,000 in Bank notes, and £.800,000 in tallies, being thus sunk by the new subscription, the credit both of the Bank and of the public began to revive: notes without interest came to be on a par with specie. Money began to circulate on moderate terms; and the exchange with the continent, from being very unfavourable, was soon brought to an equality°.

Thus the exclusive right of banking as a corporation was first acquired by the company, and its capital stock was thus increased to the sum of £.2,201,171 : 10. But so productive was the fund upon which the ingrafted tallies were placed, that they were all paid off in the course of a few years; and though the capital stock on which the proprietors divided, remained at the above sum, the money due by government was reduced to £.1,200,000 before the next prolongation.

Second pro-
longation.
An. 1708.

The difficulties to which Queen Anne's ministers were reduced during the succession war, rendered

• Life of Halifax, p. 40. It appears that the whole plan was contrived and conducted by that judicious statesman.

it

it natural for them to think of making use of this corporation as a resource. Accordingly, an act was passed, *anno* 1708^p, by which, in consideration of £.400,000 advanced to government, their privilege was continued to the 1st of August 1732, and an annuity, at the rate of 6 *per cent.* was granted on the sum which then became due by the public, amounting to £.1,600,000. Both the renewal of the charter, and the terms on which it was given, were at that time loudly reprobated. The danger of trusting any set of men with so valuable a privilege, by which they might engross the whole treasure of the kingdom, and which it was in their power to make use of, either for the preservation or ruin of the nation, was painted in the strongest colours^q. And with regard to the terms, they were, in fact, of little real advantage: for the interest of money was then at 6 *per cent.* Two years interest was also allowed, at that rate, upon the £.400,000 advanced, and the interest payable upon Exchequer bills, amounting to £.1,775,027 : 17 : 10½, was raised from 4½, (at which they had formerly engaged to circulate them) to 6 *per cent.*; but to a needy and harassed ministry, the advance of about £.400,000 was an argument weighty enough to silence all objections.

In almost every instance, our ministers seem to have contended which of them should make the

Third pro-
longation.
An. 1713.

^p 7 Anne, cap. 7.

^q Remarks upon the Bank of England, printed *anno* 1707, p. 30. This was no ideal objection, for the Bank affected, in the reign of Queen Anne, to control the government.

most

most advantageous bargain for the bank, and the least favourable to the public. But that which was concluded *anno* 1713 is, upon the whole, perhaps the worst. By an act passed that year^{*}, their charter was prolonged to the 1st of August 1742; in consideration of which, they agreed to circulate Exchequer bills to the amount of £.1,200,000 for which they were to receive, 3 *per cent. per annum*, and a farther yearly sum of £.8000 payable quarterly, under the denomination of premiums for the expence of circulation, in addition to an interest of 2*d. per cent.* a day, payable to the bearer. Nor was this all: for as the money was placed upon a fund already deeply mortgaged, power was therefore given to the treasury, to compute quarterly what was grown due for interest and premiums on these and other exchequer bills due from the public, and to issue out new exchequer bills bearing the like interest and premium. Thus, whilst the Bank was purchasing the prolongation of a very valuable monopoly, it compelled the public to pay a quarterly compound interest of above 6 *per cent.* by which their principal would be doubled in about ten years^{*}.

Fourth pro-
longation.
An. 1742.

When the exclusive privileges which the Bank had thus acquired were brought near to a termination, we were unfortunately engaged in an expensive and dangerous war; a circumstance of which the

^{*} 12 Anne, sess. i. cap. 11.

^{*} Hist. of our Nat. Debts, Part II. p. 154. The quarterly bills issued in consequence of this act, amounted to £.96,500. The sum was not great, but the principle was truly dangerous.

corporation

corporation availed itself, in order to conclude a very profitable bargain. They advanced, it is true, £.1,600,000 to government, for which it was said they received no interest; but it was added to the capital, the whole of which, amounting, with that addition, to £.3,200,000 was to receive an interest of 3 *per cent.* The disadvantages of this bargain were fully explained at the time. It was stated, that lending money at 3 *per cent.* was no favour to government, because the 3 *per cent.* lottery annuities were at par. Indeed it was demonstrably proved, that the Bank not only paid nothing for the prolongation, but also made a million of money by the agreement. Bank stock then sold at 140 *per cent.* or £.40 premium. If the £.1,600,000 due to them had been paid off at par, the whole premium thereon, amounting to £.640,000, would have been lost to the proprietors; whereas, by adding as much to their capital, and selling it at the same rate, £.640,000 was gained. According to this calculation indeed, the whole saving and profit to the proprietors of the Bank, would have amounted to £.1,280,000. But as some allowance must be made for so great a quantity of stock coming into the market at once, the whole advantage ought not to be estimated at more than a million*.

* Some Considerations relative to the intended Bank new Contract, printed *anno* 1742, fol. p. 5.

Fifth pro-
longation.
An. 1763.

It was under the administration of Mr. Grenville, *anno* 1763, that the charter of the Bank was renewed⁴. The terms were rather more favourable to the public than usual. The company agreed to pay £.110 000 to be disposed of by parliament, without allowance of interest, or repayment of principal. They also undertook to circulate a million in exchequer bills, undemandable for two years, at only 3 *per cent.* interest, though exchequer bills bearing 4 *per cent.* were then at a discount. A number of commercial bankruptcies having happened a short time before on the continent, which rendered it necessary for the Bank to make exertions to hinder almost a general failure at home, prevented the minister from making higher demands⁵. On these terms the privileges of the Bank were prolonged for the space of twenty-one years.

Sixth pro-
longation.
An. 1781.

Another prolongation took place *anno* 1781. By an act passed that year⁷, an addition was made of twenty-seven years to the former term; and it is consequently extended to the 1st of August 1812. The only advantage which it is pretended the public received from this transaction, was the circulation of two millions of exchequer bills, not demandable for two years, at the interest of 3 *per*

⁴ 4 Geo. III. cap. 25.

⁵ There is an account of this transaction in the Considerations of the Trade and Finances of this Kingdom, supposed to be written by Mr. Grenville himself. 2d edition, page 31.

⁷ 21 Geo. III. cap. 50.

cent. The difference between 3 and 5 *per cent.* on £.2,000,000 for only two years, on the supposition that exchequer bills could not be circulated at a lower rate, seems to have been a very inadequate compensation for so long an extension, and proves either the superiority of monied men in pecuniary negotiations, or how little the interest of the public is considered on such occasions, when put in comparison with a little temporary convenience to the minister of the day^a.

The last prolongation was confirmed by an act^{Seventh prolongation. An. 1800.} passed *anno* 1800^a. Though the Charter of the Bank had several years to run, yet it was thought expedient to renew it at so early a period, with a view of strengthening the credit of the Bank, and enabling it to give every possible assistance to government. The terms were extremely advantageous to this favoured corporation. The Bank only became bound to advance three millions for the service of the year 1800, on exchequer bills, payable without interest, out of the supplies to be granted for the year 1806, in consideration of which, the term of their charter was continued till the end of twelve months' notice, after the 1st of August 1833.

^a The whole premium given by the Bank for this renewal, at the utmost, cannot be estimated at more than £.80,000, whereas the prolongation enabled them to increase their dividend to 7 *per cent.*, and consequently gave them an additional income of £.116,424 *per annum*.

^a 39 & 40 Geo. III. c. 28.

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From this concise view of the various agreements with the Bank of England, it does not appear that they were ever attended with any material benefit to the public. The only sum which government ever received, without becoming bound to pay, either the interest usual at the time, after a short suspension, or to repay the principal, was the trifling sum of £.1 0,000 obtained by Mr. Grenville. The corporation has undoubtedly been of service in circulating exchequer bills; in facilitating, by their notes, pecuniary transactions; and in maintaining, to a considerable degree, credit both public and private: But it is to be hoped, when a bargain comes again to be concluded, instead of any advance of money, or any inadequate compensation of that nature, that *one half of the clear annual profits of the company* will be insisted upon. A power also should be reserved in the state, at any time it thought proper, to erect another bank, which, though it would not be much relished by those who are infected with a spirit of monopoly, yet the consequences of such a rivalry, would be of infinite benefit to trade, and productive of many solid advantages to the nation.

We shall now proceed to give a concise view, of the progress of the capital and dividends of the Bank from its first establishment; and an account of the sums now due to that corporation, in consequence of advancing which, its privileges were originally acquired, and have since been continued;
together

together with some miscellaneous observations regarding this important establishment.

GENERAL VIEW of the Progress of the CAPITAL and DIVIDENDS of the BANK of ENGLAND, from the Revolution to the present Time.

Year.	Capital.	Dividend.
1694,	- £.1,200,000 0 0	8 per cent.
1697,	- 2,201,171 10 0	9 per cent.
1708 ^b ,	- 4,402,343 0 0	9 per cent.
1709,	- 5,058,547 1 9	Varying from 9 to 6 per cent.
1710,	- 5,559,995 14 8	
1722,	- 8,959,995 14 0	
25th March 1730,	- -	6 per cent.
29th Sept. 1730,	- -	5½ per cent.
25th March 1731,	- -	6 per cent.
29th Sept. 1731,	- -	5½ per cent.
25th March 1732,	- -	6 per cent.
29th Sept. 1732,	- -	5½ per cent.
1742,	- 9,800,000 0 0	5½ per cent.
29th Sept. 1742,	- -	5½ per cent.
1746,	- 10,780,000 0 0	5 per cent.
25th March 1747,	- -	5 per cent.
5th April 1753,	- -	4½ per cent.
10th Oct. 1764,	- -	5 per cent.
10th Oct. 1767,	- -	5½ per cent.
10th Oct. 1781,	- -	6 per cent.
1782,	- 11,642,400 0 0	6 per cent.
5th April 1788,	- -	7 per cent.

Consequently the present capital on which the Bank divides, amounts to £.11,642,400, which, at an interest of 7 per cent. is £.814,968 per annum.

^b See 7 Anne, cap. vii, clause 68. From 1708 to 1730, the dividends varied from 9 to 6 per cent.

But this is not the exact sum due by the public to the company, and far less is the dividend above mentioned, the sum annually paid by the Bank to its proprietors. It is therefore proposed to give an account of the money borrowed at different times from that corporation, together with the present state of that debt, and interest payable thereon.

GENERAL VIEW of the Sums borrowed on permanent Loans from the Bank, with the Interest thereof.

	Money borrowed.	Annual Interest.
Sum originally borrowed at 8 per cent.	£. 1,200,000 0 0	£. 96,000 0 0
By 7 Anne, cap. 7, £. 400,000 additional borrowed, making in all a capital of £. 1,600,000 the whole bearing an interest of 6 per cent.	1,600,000 0 0	96,000 0 0
By 3 Geo. I. cap. 8, the sum borrowed increased to £. 3,375,027 17 10½ bearing an interest on the additional loan of £. 1,775,027 17 10½ of 5 per cent. from Midsummer 1718.	3,375,027 17 10½	184,751 17 10½
By 8 Geo. I. cap. 21, and 11 Geo. I. cap. 9, the capital increased, and the		interest

	Money borrowed.	Annual Interest.
interest reduced to 4 <i>per cent.</i> on the additional loans since 1709 -	£.9,375,027 17 10½	£.407,001 2 3½
By 15 Geo. II. cap. 13, the capi- tal increased to £.10,700,000 partly at 3 and partly at 4 <i>per cent.</i> -	10,700,000 0 0	396,000 0 0
By 19 Geo. II. cap. 6, the sum of £.986,800 farther advanced, and the interest on the whole reduced to 3 <i>per cent.</i> -	11,686,800 0 0	352,502 3 5

Such are the sums which the Bank has lent on permanent securities, no portion of which the public is under any necessity of repaying, until its privileges expire. Various other loans of a temporary nature, however, are advanced on the credit of exchequer bills, and of such taxes as are annually voted. But these sums make a part of what is called the Unfunded Debt. At present it will be sufficient to remark, the great confusion which exists, in regard to this branch of our national incumbrances. The capital on which the Bank divides amounts to £.11,642,400, whereas the sum due by the public is £.11,686,800, or £.44,400 additional. The interest paid by the public is but £.352,502 : 3 : 6; whereas the Bank, in consequence

quence of the profits of its business, is enabled to make a regular annual dividend, besides occasional ones, at the rate of £,814,968 *per annum*, or £.462,465 : 16 : 6 more than it receives: a circumstance which it is hoped our ministers, in the event of another prolongation, will attend to^c.

In addition to the above interest, the sum of £.5,898 : 3 : 5 is annually allowed for the charges of management; of which £.4,000 was given at the original establishment of the Bank, and the remainder in the year 1722, when four millions were purchased from the South Sea company.

Miscellaneous particulars regarding the Bank.

It is impossible, in a work of this nature, to enter into all the particulars connected with so great an establishment; but there are some points which seem to be of such material consequence, that it is necessary to advert to them.

1. Occasional dividends to the subscribers.

After the affairs of the Bank had got into disorder, it was found necessary by the Directors, to gratify the Proprietors with occasional Dividends, or *Bonusses*, as they are called, as some apology for their misconduct. The last of these was determined on at a general court, held 23d Sept. 1802, when it was resolved that £.52,422 : 13 Navy 5 *per cents*. should be purchased, which being added to £.238,637 : 7 remaining in the possession of the

^c If the money advanced by the Bank, namely, £.11,685,800 were at 5 *per cent*. it would yield only £.584,340 *per annum*; consequently the Bank divides at this time £.230,628 more than the usual and legal interest of the country.

Bank,

Bank, made a dividend of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *five per cent. stock* for every £.100 Bank stock. Two dividends of this kind had been made before in March 1799, and March 1801, and by these three occasional dividends the whole of the government stock, (exclusive of the permanent debt) held by the company, has been divided among the proprietors. Nothing can be more highly exceptionable, than thus occasionally distributing extraordinary sums among the proprietors. It enables the directors, and such of their friends as are in the secret, to make their fortunes^d, whilst it is extremely injurious to those, who, perhaps but a short period before the extra dividend was ordered, had sold their property in Bank stock; and above all, such measures ought to be reprobated, from their tendency to encourage a spirit of gambling, by which multitudes may be tempted to engage in such speculations, who would not otherwise have thought of it, and they, and many innocent persons connected with them, may suffer.

Nor is this all. The following is the amount of *5 per cent. stock*, hitherto divided among the Bank proprietors:

		<i>5 per cent. Stock</i>
1st Dividend.—14th March 1799.	-	£. 1,164,240
2d Ditto. - 19th March 1801.	-	582,120
3d Ditto. - 23d Sept. 1802.	-	290,060
Total		£. 2,036,420

^d See the Anecdote in Allardyce's work on the Bank of England, 2d address, anno 1801, p. 5.

What a sum for any corporation to divide among its proprietors, whilst it refused to pay its creditors in cash, and obtained its privileges, as appears from the preceding narrative, on terms so unfavourable for the public.

a. Bank
monopoly.

It was in the year 1707 that the Bank first got a clause inserted in an act of Parliament, making it unlawful for any other company or partnership, consisting of more than six persons, to issue bills or notes payable on demand, or for any less time than six months*. A handle was made of some misconduct in the management of the Mine-Adventurers' Company about that time, (who, it is said, soon after their establishment, had, contrary to the intent of their charter, undertaken the banking business, and made it subservient to wild and mischievous speculations) in order to obtain this important privilege. But if notes payable to the bearer on demand, were at all to be issued, from any quarter besides the Bank, nothing was more injurious to the public interest, than restricting that privilege to six persons or fewer, and refusing it to a greater number, by whom more ample security might have been furnished. The consequence was, that many private bankers all over the kingdom, were induced to issue notes, tempted by the profit likely to arise from such a traffic; but not having any capital sufficient to carry on their speculations, they were

* 6 Anne, cap. 22, sec. 9.

† Fairman on the Stocks, p. 31.

obliged

obliged to stop during the critical period of 1797, when the alarm, occasioned by the fear of an invasion, made the farmers and others desirous of converting their paper into cash. This alarm first produced such a run upon the country banks, and afterwards upon the Bank of England itself, that it occasioned an almost general stoppage, and rendered it necessary for parliament to protect the bank, from being under the necessity of paying in specie. Thus an act, which was intended for the safety and advantage of the Bank, ultimately proved the source of its disgrace and embarrassment; for such a circumstance would never have happened, had no individual or set of men been permitted to issue notes, or to coin paper, without producing the most undoubted security, which could seldom be the case, unless more than six were engaged in the same partnership.

It was in the year 1714, that the Bank first received subscriptions to a loan for the public service, which had formerly been usually taken at the Exchequer, but the Bank was a situation much more convenient for the monied interest, and on the same ground it was also found advisable to pay the dividends of various funds at the same place. The Bank having gradually become the centre of such transactions, it was thought necessary to give it a degree of permanence which would not otherwise have been thought of. Hence by an act passed in 1742⁵, it was declared “that the Governor and

³ Receiving
subscrip-
tions on
paying divi-
dends.

⁵ 15 Geo. cap. 13, sec. 3.

“ Company

“ Company of the Bank of England should remain a
 “ body corporate and politic *for ever*, subject to such
 “ restrictions and regulations as were contained in
 “ the acts and charters then in force.” This mea-
 sure seems to have been a very proper one. No
 harm is likely to arise from the perpetual existence
 of so great and respectable a corporation, provided
 it is not accompanied by the mischiefs of monopoly;
 and it is a great protection to the public creditors,
 to have so powerful a body, (whose indurance as a
 corporation is thus perpetuated,) interested in the
 regular payment of their dividends.

4. Abolish-
 ing the re-
 straint on
 the Bank
 advancing
 money to
 the crown
 without the
 authority of
 parliament.

By the original act establishing the Bank of
 England, there was an express prohibition against
 advancing, by that corporation to the crown, any
 money without the authority of Parliament^a; a re-
 striction of great moment, and which ought never
 to have been abolished. By an act, however,
 which passed in 1793¹, this great constitutional
 check was indirectly taken away, and a fatal system
 was introduced, by which the Bank of England was
 in a manner authorised, *without any restriction what-
 ever*, “ to pay any Bills of Exchange, accepted by,
 “ or by the direction, or on account of the Lords
 “ Commissioners of His Majesty’s Treasury, and
 “ made payable at the Bank of England, but not
 “ specifically charged, lent, or advanced, or any
 “ part or parts, branch or branches, fund or funds,

^a 5 W. and M. c. 20. sec. 30.

¹ 33 Geo. 3. cap. 32. sec. 6.

“ granted

"granted or belonging to His Majesty." Notwithstanding this clause, the Directors of the Bank still considered advances on Treasury Bills of Exchange unconstitutional^k; but were prevailed upon, contrary to repeated declarations to that effect, to advance money from time to time, on Treasury Bills, not sanctioned by parliament. These advances, amounting to many millions, greatly contributed to the distresses which the Bank experienced, and ultimately to the suspension of its payments in cash. It is in the highest degree dangerous to the constitution of this country, that such a power should remain in the hands of extravagant ministers, and a corrupt or timid body of directors. After being so much abused, it ought not to remain in a manner sanctioned by the acquiescence of parliament, who having seen the mischief, ought to have applied a proper remedy, and not been satisfied with merely prohibiting such advances during the restriction. Any future minister or member of the House, who procures the re-establishment of the original bar and important check on a practice so utterly unconstitutional, will be well entitled to the thanks and gratitude of his country.

An able writer on political questions, has drawn up the following statement of the cash and bullion,

^{5.} Amount of notes in circulation.

^k See Allardyce's Address, p. 8. and Append. p. 34, and 127. Indeed notwithstanding the above-narrated clause, it is questionable whether a positive enactment can be indirectly taken away.

the

the average of Bank notes circulated, the bills discounted, and average advances to government, at the periods after mentioned.

Date.	Cash and Bullion.	Average of Bank-Notes circulated.	Bills discounted	Average advances to Government.
1793. March	3,500,000	11,963,820	4,817,000	8,735,200
June	4,412,000	12,100,650	5,128,000	9,434,000
Sept.	6,836,000	10,931,620	2,061,000	9,455,700
Dec.	7,720,000	10,967,310	1,976,000	8,887,500
1794. March	7,608,000	11,159,720	2,908,000	8,494,100
June	8,208,000	10,366,450	3,203,000	7,735,800
Sept.	3,096,000	10,343,940	2,000,000	6,779,800
Dec.	7,768,000	10,927,970	1,887,000	7,545,100
1795. March	7,940,000	12,432,240	2,287,000	9,773,700
June	7,356,000	10,912,680	3,485,000	10,879,700
Sept.	5,792,000	11,034,790	1,887,000	10,197,600
Dec.	4,000,000	11,608,670	3,109,000	10,863,100
1796. March	2,972,000	10,824,150	2,820,000	11,351,000
June	2,582,000	10,770,200	3,730,000	11,269,700
Sept.	2,532,000	9,720,440	3,352,000	9,901,100
Dec.	2,508,000	9,645,710	3,796,000	9,511,400
1797. Feb. 26.	1,272,000	8,640,250	2,905,000	10,672,490 ¹

But

¹ It is curious, as this author very properly remarks, “ to observe, from this Table, what little service the Bank of England has rendered to the commercial interest of this kingdom, and of how much less importance its concerns are to the real welfare of the state, than the pride and credulity of the nation had always imagined them to be. Accustomed to soothe our vanity with the idea of the immensity of the Bank, both as to its credit and the extent of its transactions, what surprise must we feel, in finding that this credit, before the last year, had seldom exceeded three or four millions, and that the concerns which we had represented to ourselves as of so much consequence to our trade and manufactures, were limited to discounts still more trifling and inconsiderable! How must our lofty sentiments of the wisdom and greatness of this
“ Company

But though, prior to 1797, the circulation of notes never much exceeded twelve millions, yet when small notes came to be issued, and the suspension of payments in cash had been so long

“ Company be depressed by learning that their notes, to which
 “ we hardly dared to assign any limits, have seldom amounted
 “ to £12,000,000, and that often this circulating-paper, has
 “ been very nearly equalled by the hoards of cash and bullion
 “ in the coffers of the Bank ! We had hitherto been led to be-
 “ lieve, that the tottering foundations of private credit had, on
 “ many occasions, been upheld by the support of this Company ;
 “ and particularly that the assistance, which they had given to
 “ our commercial difficulties in the year 1793, was an exertion
 “ almost too bold even for their stupendous resources. But if
 “ the amount of our exports and imports be accurately stated by
 “ the officers of the Customs, how inconsiderable does this assist-
 “ ance appear to have been ! I think the preceding statements
 “ incontestably prove that neither our foreign trade nor our
 “ commercial intercourse at home have derived much advantage
 “ from the operations of this Bank. Its chief energies have
 “ been unequivocally directed to another quarter. The advances
 “ to Government have generally been four or five times greater
 “ than the private discounts ; and, it is evident, that, in pro-
 “ portion as the former are extended, the ability to increase the
 “ latter must be diminished. I shall not enter into the propriety
 “ of assisting trade by such an institution. I only mean in this
 “ paper to shew, that, if our merchants and manufacturers
 “ wanted such support, they have been very scantily supplied
 “ with it by the Bank. To those who are ignorant of the
 “ nature of this establishment, and who look over the foregoing
 “ statements with the least attention, it must appear as if its
 “ principal purpose had been to enable a Minister to lavish the
 “ public revenue much faster than it could ever be collected ;
 “ and to furnish him with the means of engaging in the most
 “ extravagant and ruinous expenise, before his prodigality could
 “ be submitted to the deliberation of Parliament.”

acquiesced

acquiesced in by the public, that it was not likely to be speedily removed, the Bank was easily prevailed upon, materially to increase its circulation, the amount of which, according to the latest return, was as follows :

An ACCOUNT of the Amount of NOTES of the BANK of ENGLAND, in Circulation on the 1st of June, the 1st of August, the 1st of October, and the 25th of November, 1803;—distinguishing the Amount of those that were BELOW the Value of FIVE POUNDS.

Amount of Bank of England Notes of Five Pounds each, and upwards, including Bank Post Bills payable Seven Days after Sight.

	Notes above £. 5.	Notes of £. 1 and £. 2 each.	Total.
On 1st June - 1803, -	£. 12,847,540	3,253,600	16,101,140
1st August 1803, -	£. 13,013,180	3,721,330	16,734,510
1st October 1803, -	£. 12,570,500	4,052,010	16,622,510
25th Nov. 1803, -	£. 13,502,690	4,429,240	17,931,930

The increase in the circulation of Bank notes, from £. 8,640,250 on the 26th February 1797, to £. 17,931,930 on the 25th November 1803, is a circumstance which would hardly have been credited in former times, and the effects of which, certainly cannot be of an indifferent or trifling nature, but must ultimately prove either materially useful or pernicious to the country. It is singular also, that though the Bank refused to issue small notes when

when recommended to them in 1796; yet that a sum equal to one half of their total circulation in 1797, was issued by them, *in such notes*, in 1803.

With regard to this increasing issue, and the policy of continuing the suspension of payments in cash, I have already delivered in this work, (see vol. ii. p. 307) my sentiments respecting them. The more I reflect upon the subject, the more I am satisfied that no country can prosper without having an abundant circulation, or in other words, money easily attainable, and at a moderate rate of interest. Where that can be effected by paper convertible into coin, it is certainly the most desirable system to rely on; but if that cannot be brought about, owing to improvident wars, public extravagance, or private luxury, and profusion, it is better to have an abundant circulation *of paper only*, than to permit any deficiency in so essential an article for the existence of a prosperous nation, as the medium of barter. I am also convinced, that a country is more likely ultimately to procure a sufficiency of the precious metals, through the industry excited by means of abundant paper circulation, than if that industry were cramped by the impossibility of obtaining funds or credit to support it.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth is distinguished by the first attempt to establish a commercial intercourse with the East; a charter for that purpose having been granted to a company of merchants in the year 1599, which was renewed at different times

East India
Company.

times by her successors of the house of Stuart, with the addition of many important privileges.

The rivalry of the Dutch, the jealousy of the natives of Asia, and the war with France at the revolution, reduced that company to the greatest distress; inasmuch that their inability to carry on the trade became evident. Encouragement therefore was given to a new set of adventurers to prosecute the same; and on the 5th of September 1698 a charter of incorporation was granted to a society who had agreed to advance two millions to the public, in consideration of the privileges granted to them for carrying on their traffic.

The old company however was still suffered to subsist: but a competition between the two societies being found prejudicial to both, by the mediation of government an union between them was effected in 1708: and a new corporation was created, since known under the name of *The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*; whose capital was fixed at £ 3,200,000, of which two millions were advanced by, or belonged to, the new, and £.1,200,000 to the old adventurers^m. The privileges of the corporation were at the same time prolonged to the 25th of March 1726.

The rights and charters of the company were afterwards continued by various laws unnecessary here to enumerate. It will be sufficient to refer to the last act passed upon the occasion, namely

^m 6 Anne, cap. 17.

33 Geo. III. c. 52, by which the exclusive trade is continued under new regulations, for twenty years, from 1st March 1794, with a proviso, that upon three years' notice being given by parliament, and the repayment of money due to the company, the exclusive trade to the East Indies, shall be annulled, but that the Company shall notwithstanding continue a corporation, with power to carry on a free trade, in common with other persons.

The capital stock of the company, and the dividends thereon, as appears from the following table, have greatly varied at different periods.

GENERAL VIEW of the Progress of the Capital Trading Stock of the East India Company, and the Dividends payable thereon.

Year.	Capital.	Dividends Per cent.	Duration of each Rate of Dividend No. of Years.
1698 -	2,000,000	8	
1777-8 -	3,200,000	5	
From Christmas 1708		5	$\frac{1}{2}$
To Lady Day 1709		8	$\frac{1}{2}$
To Michaelmas 1709		9	2
To Michaelmas 1711		10	$5\frac{1}{2}$
To Christmas 1716		10	$5\frac{1}{2}$
To Midsummer 1722		8	10
To Midsummer 1732		7	11
To Christmas 1755		8	11
To Christmas 1766		6	11
To Christmas 1768		10	2
To Christmas 1769		11	1
To Christmas 1770		12	1
To Midsummer 1772		$12\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$
To Midsummer 1776		6	4
To Christmas 1777		7	$1\frac{1}{2}$
To Midsummer 1787		8	$9\frac{1}{2}$

Year.	Capital.	Dividends. Per cent.	Duration of each Rate of Dividend. Years.
Capital anno 1788.			
In consequence of an act (26 Geo. 3. cap. 62,) by which the sum of £.800,000 was added to the stock,	4,000,000	1	
From Midsummer 1787, to Christmas 1789.	-	8	2½
Capital anno 1789, when by 29 Geo. 3. cap. 65, a million was added to the stock,	5,000,000		
From Christmas 1789, to do. 1792,	-	8	3
From Christmas 1792, to Midsummer 1793,	-	10½	½
Capital anno 1793, when by 33 Geo. 3. c. 52, a million was added to the stock,	6,000,000		
From Midsummer 1793, to the present time, an. 1804,	-	10½	

The dividend on this capital, at the rate of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. amounts to £.630,000 per annum.

The progress of the loans from the East India Company to the public, will appear from the following statement :

GENERAL VIEW of the SUMS borrowed from the East India Company, with the Interest thereof.

	Money borrowed. Interest.	
	£.	£.
Sum originally borrowed at 8 per cent.	2,000,000	160,000
By 6 Anne, cap. 17. the capital was increased £.1,200,000, and the interest diminished to 5 per cent.	- 3,200,000	160,000
		By

	Money borrowed.	Interest.
	£.	£.

By 3 Geo. 2. cap. 14. the interest on the above capital reduced to 4 *per cent.*

3,200,000	128,000
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By 17 Geo. 2. cap. 17. a million was borrowed from the company at the rate of 3 *per cent.*, and by 23 Geo. 2. cap. 22. the original loan of £.3,200,000 having been reduced first to 3½, and afterwards to 3 *per cent.*, consequently the total sum borrowed is £.4,200,000 bearing an interest of 3 *per cent.*

4,200,000	126,000
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By the act of 1750, the company in consideration of this reduction of interest to 3 *per cent.* was permitted to raise £.4,200,000 by the sale of annuities, at the same rate of interest which the company received from the public; but these annuities, from the smallness of their amount, and from the place of transfer being at a distance from the Stock Exchange, were always sold at a price inferior to the other annuities of an equal rate, transferable at the Bank. It was therefore thought advisable on that, and other accounts, by the act 33 Geo. 3. c. 47, to cancel the debt of £.4,200,000 due by the public to the company, and to consolidate the same with those annuities transferable at the Bank, known under the name of the 3 *per cent.* reduced. By this means the confusion that formerly took place between the trading stock of the India Company, and these annuities, was fortunately put an end to,

and consequently it is rendered less difficult to explain the real situation of our finances. On this branch of our inquiry, it is only necessary to add, that what is called *India Stock*, the interest of which is payable at the India House, forms no part of the national debt; and that the only sum on permanent security, due by the public to the company, is the capital of £.4,200,000, at present incorporated with the 3 per cent. reduced. In the chapter on the national resources, it is proposed to give a general view of the complicated concerns of this great commercial corporation, and of the income and expenditure of the vast empire connected therewith.

South Sea
Company.

Some account has already been given of the origin of the South Sea Company, and of the famous scheme projected by that corporation for the purpose of diminishing and paying off the national debtⁿ. From the difficulties in which the company were involved, so many acts have been passed upon the subject, that to trace its progress with minuteness would be more tedious than useful; and the reader will probably be satisfied with a short statement of its situation at this time^o.

It was in the year 1733 that what is now called the trading stock of the South Sea Company was

ⁿ See vol. i. p. 487.

^o In Postlethwayt's History of the Public Revenue, p. 310, 311, &c. there is an historical state of the South Sea Company to the year 1753, which takes up nine pages in folio. In the same work there are similar accounts of the Bank and of the East India Company.

originally

originally divided from its other funds, and finally ascertained: it amounts to £.3,662,784 : 8 : 6½^p. But the only trade in which the company is now engaged, is that of managing certain annuities payable at the South Sea House, for which it now receives the annual sum of £.14,022 : 3 : 2. In consequence of that advantage, though the company receives on its trading stock but 3 *per cent.* from the public, or £.109,884, it divides at the rate of 3½ *per cent.*, or £.128,197 : 9 : 1. This circumstance also tends to create some confusion in our public accounts.

In regard to the annuities payable at the South Sea House, their nature and amount will be afterwards stated.

Such are the sums due to the different trading companies. We shall next proceed to state the amount of the debts owing by the public to individuals, who receive their annuities merely without deriving any other advantage. These annuities, in so far as they are perpetual, are put under the management either of the Bank, or of the South Sea Company.

The annuities payable at the Bank are either at Bank annuities. the rate of 3, of 4, or of 5 *per cent.*

Of the 3 *per cents.* the fund known under the name 3 per cents. of the 3 *per cent.* consolidated annuities is by far the most considerable, amounting at this time, (March

^p See 6 Geo. 2. cap. 28. The trading stock in that act was erroneously calculated.

1804) to the enormous sum of £.341,645,183 of capital, bearing an annual interest of £.10,297,355; and requiring £.154,460 *per annum* for the very charges of management, deducting therefrom what the commissioners for discharging the national debt have paid, the amount of which shall be afterwards stated. When this fund was first consolidated in the year 1751, it amounted only to £.9,137,821¹. *Anno* 1770 the capital was increased to £.39,781,521 : 5 : 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. In the course of the American and of the late war it has swelled to its present magnitude, partly by real loans, for which value was received; and partly by adding an artificial capital, for which no purchase money was given. Perhaps such a system could not have been intirely avoided, though it materially tends to render our public debts more confused, unmanageable, expensive, and alarming, than otherwise would have been the case².

The 3 *per cent.* reduced annuities, so called because they formerly bore a higher interest, is the next fund to be mentioned, the principal of which amounts to £.123,096,561, the annual interest to £.3,740,896, and the charges of management to £.56,113, deducting what has been purchased by the commissioners for discharging the public debt, As the interest of this and the preceding fund is the

¹ See Ashmore's Analysis of the several Bank annuities, p. 7.

² The Bank is allowed £.450 *per* million for the charges of management; at which rate 100 millions of artificial capital costs us £.45,000 *per annum*, and so on in proportion.

same,

same, it might have been advisable to have joined them together; (the idea of *reduced annuities* not being very popular), did not the interests of the two funds become due at different periods; the 3 *per cent.* consol. being paid half yearly, on the 5th of January, and on the 5th of July; the 3 *per cents.* reduced on the 5th of April, and the 10th of October. This division renders it less necessary to collect such large sums of money at once into the Bank, or the Exchequer, as might otherwise be required. Had these funds indeed been payable at the same time, it might have proved on some occasions inconvenient to the general circulation of the country.

Another 3 *per cent.* fund, under the management of the bank, is known by the name of the 3 *per cents.* 1726, at which time they were first created. The loan was made that year in order to discharge certain civil list debts contracted in the reign of George the First. The annual interest and charges on this fund amount to £.30,450. It might in some degree prevent confusion, and might perhaps diminish even the expence of managing our public incumbrances, if this sum were consolidated with some of the other funds. Though borrowed to discharge the debts of the civil list, and though the interest is paid by the six-penny duty on places and pensions, yet it should be included amongst our national debts, as much as any other part of our burdens.

4 per cents. The *4 per cent.* Bank annuities amount to £.49,725,084, bearing an interest of £1,989,003, payable half yearly on the 5th of April and 10th of October. The whole of this fund has been created since the year 1776; and no bargain was entered into with the public creditors, which prevents either the repayment of the principal, or a reduction of interest, whenever the nation is enabled to carry into effect either of these measures.

5 per cents. The funds bearing *5 per cent.* interest, are at present of two descriptions: the first called the *5 per cents.* navy annuities, and the second the *5 per cent.* annuities of 1797, commonly known under the name of the loyalty loan, the history of which has been already given in a former part of this work.

In regard to the navy *5 per cent.* annuities, they now amount to the sum of £.28,125,582, bearing an interest of £.1,406,279, and requiring £.12,656 for the expence of management. By the original contract with the public creditors, to whom this fund belonged, it was made redeemable whenever £.25,000,000 of 3 or 4 *per cent.* stock had been purchased by the commissioners for paying off the national debt; and that circumstance having long ago taken place, nothing but the want of means can prevent the reduction of this fund, to a lower rate of interest.

In regard to the loyalty loan, as it was called, which originally amounted to £.20,124,843 : 15 of

capital, there was afterwards added, by 42 Geo. III. c. 8. a capital £.2,227,612 : 10, so that the total now amounts to £.22,352,456 : 5. As the creditors will soon be entitled to demand their money, it is very improbable that this fund will long be entitled to remain in its present state.

The annuities payable by the public, under the management of the South Sea company, bear uniformly the same interest, namely, 3 *per cent.* They are divided however into three branches: namely, 1. The old South Sea annuities, amounting to £.11,907,470 : 2 : 7, bearing an interest of £.357,224 : 2, payable half yearly, on the 5th of April and 10th. of October; 2. The new South Sea annuities amount to £.8,494,830 : 2 : 10, and the interest thereon being £.254,844 : 18 : 1 is payable on the 5th of January and 5th of July; and 3. The sum of £.1,919,600 funded *anno* 1751, the interest on which amounting to £.57,588 is payable at the same time.

The capital of the deferred 3 *per cent.* annuities, amounts to £.1,740,625, the interest payable on which does not commence till the 5th of January 1808, when they are to be made a part of the 3 *per cent.* consolidated annuities. The allowance for management amounts to £.783 *per annum.* The idea of postponing the payment of the interest on public loans was borrowed from America, but the system is not likely to be much relished by the monied interest on this side of the Atlantic.

This

This concludes the formidable catalogue of perpetual funds, to which this country is at present subject, exclusive of the Austrian and the Irish loans, the nature and amount of which have been already explained.

s. Temporary annuities.

The temporary annuities are, First, Those granted for life. Secondly, for a definite term of years. They are payable either at the Bank, or at the Exchequer.

Bank short annuities.

In the years 1778 and 1779 certain annuities were granted for short periods, ending on the 5th January 1808¹: they amount in all to £.418,333 *per annum*, and cost £.4,766 for charges of management. However agreeable the prospect may be, of getting soon free of such an incumbrance, there is reason to believe, that less value is paid for such annuities, than for those of a more permanent nature. £.25,000 *per annum* of short annuities, which expired on the 5th of April 1787, instead of being extinguished, are placed to the account of the commissioners appointed for the reduction of the national debt.

Bank long annuities.

The most important branch of the temporary annuities, amounting to £1,063,702 *per annum*, unfortunately continue till the 5th of January 1860. The prospect of their termination is so very remote, that we must consider them as almost equal to permanent annuities; and were an unalienable system

¹ See 18 Geo. III. cap. 22. and 19 Geo. III. cap. 18,

adopted for reducing the national debt, little doubt can be entertained, that both long and short annuities, are, on the whole, the most exceptionable and pernicious modes of borrowing money; and indeed that it would be better to convert our present temporary, into perpetual annuities, than to continue them on their present footing.

The only sums payable at the exchequer are certain annuities granted in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, which end at different periods, prior to, or at Lady-day 1808: also some life annuities payable at the same place; and certain tontine annuities, the whole of which amount only to £.127,750 *per annum*, and require £.5,490, *per annum*, for the expence of management. Exchequer annuities,

Such is the general nature of the *funded* incumbrances, to which this country is liable, in addition to the Irish and Austrian loans, which it is bound to guarantee,

2. UNFUNDED DEBT.

The progress of public credit is slow and gradual. At first, when a nation borrows, it is under the necessity of providing a fund for defraying not only the interest, but the principal of its debts. The creditor is afterwards perfectly satisfied if he is secured in the punctual payment of the interest, knowing well that his capital will at any time fetch an adequate value in the market; and in process of time, he is contented without any fixed security,
either

either for his principal or interest, excepting the general faith and credit of the public. In this manner the unfunded debt of the nation has arisen. At present it consists of exchequer bills, of bills granted by the navy and victualling boards, and of various claims and other public expences, which are not yet liquidated or ascertained.

Exchequer
bills.

The origin of exchequer bills is an important circumstance in the financial history of this country.

At the close of the year 1696 the national credit was at its lowest ebb; insomuch that on the very first day that parliament assembled, the house found it necessary to resolve, that it would not alter the standard of gold or silver, in regard to fineness, weight, or denomination; and that the house would make good all parliamentary funds since his majesty's accession to the crown^a.

These declarations however had not the effect that was expected from them. The vast load of debt which had been accumulated terrified the public: the circulation of the country was greatly impeded, in consequence of the specie having been called in to be recoined: half the supplies, granted for the service of the year 1696, had proved deficient: a project, known under the name of the land bank, had failed: in short, stronger steps were necessary to quiet the minds of those who were concerned in the funds, and to restore the credit of

^a Resolutions 20th of October 1696. Commons Journals, vol. xii. p. 567.

the exchequer. The commons therefore resolved, on the 20th of November, that the supplies for carrying on the war for the year 1697, be raised by such aids and duties as will answer and produce the same within the year^x; having no prospect that any loans for a longer time could be made.

It was soon perceived, however, that such measures were more easily resolved than executed: but necessity being the parent of invention, it was at last proposed, in order to remedy the scarcity of specie, that bills or tickets should be issued by the exchequer, upon the credit of the supplies granted for the year, which it was expected would answer equally with money, as they were to be received in all payments to the exchequer. After some obstructions, arising from the novelty of the plan, and the opposition of those who expected to gain by the public necessities, the credit of these bills became at last confirmed, and have since proved a very useful resource to the public^y.

The amount of exchequer bills outstanding on the 5th of January is as follows:

By 39 and 40 Geo. 3.	Cap. 28.	{ Aids an. 1806, Extension of Bank Charter.	{ £3,000,000
43 Ditto	—	3. Malt Tax, an. 1803,	- 750,000
Carry over			£3,750,000

^x Commons Journals, vol. xii. p. 590.

^y Exchequer bills are first mentioned in 8 and 9 W. 3. cap. 6.: but it was by cap. 20 of that session, clause 63, that they were directed to be taken in all payments at the exchequer, which rendered them of more general use, as well for the occasions of war, as for commerce and circulation. See also Fairman's Stocks examined and compared, p. 88.

					Brought over	3,750,000
By	43 Geo. 3.	Cap. 5.	Aids An.	- 1803, ²	-	2,594,300
	43 Ditto	— 36.	Ditto	- 1804,	-	3,000,000
	43 Ditto	— 145.	Ditto, Vote of Credit,	-	-	1,491,500
	43 Ditto	— 147.	Ditto, Bank	-	-	1,500,000
	43 Ditto	— 93.	Aids Anno	1804,	-	5,000,000
	44 Ditto	— 16.	Malt Tax,	- 1804,	-	455,000
	44 Ditto	— 15.	Aids An.	- 1804,	-	1,276,800
						<hr/> £.19,067,600

The interest paid on exchequer bills from the 5th January 1803, to the 1st of January 1804, amounted to £.801,787 : 10 : 5½.

Navy bills. The debt of the navy arises from purchases made under the direction and authority of the different boards connected with the naval department, and the board of ordnance, in addition to the ordinary establishment, and the extraordinary estimates voted by parliament. It is certain that such a mode of incurring a debt cannot be too loudly reprobated; for such bills and debentures being issued in payment of contracts by the navy, victualling, and ordnance boards, they have it thus in their power to entail a load upon the public, with hardly any controul.

Nor is this all. Before the alteration in the system, *an.* 1796, many other objections might be urged against it.

The time of payment being uncertain (as the money was neither voted, nor the contract sanctioned by parliament), the contingency was always

* Of this sum £.797,000 has been paid off. The unfunded debt, on 5th January 1803, was only £.21,585,129 : 3 : 3.
estimated

estimated greatly to the disadvantage of the public : for the contractor must not only have a profit upon the goods that he furnishes, but must also demand a price for them in proportion to the risk he ran of losing by the irregularity of the payment.

By the former mode, the discount at the time was added to the real sum due to the contractor. Thus if the discount was *15 per cent.* he received for every eighty-five pounds a navy bill for a hundred, bearing interest after six months at the rate of *4 per cent.* The discount was partly antecedent payment of interest ; for the interest, though it became due in six months, was never paid but with the capital ; and thus the public paid accumulated interest for the goods which it purchased.

Farther, when the navy bills came to be paid off, money must be borrowed for that purpose according to the current price of stocks at the time. That price a great unfunded debt necessarily kept down ; for the value of stocks was formerly principally preserved by jobbers in the alley, who were always buying and selling, and keeping the funds in perpetual circulation. But an unfunded debt, particularly when it was considerable, was a much better subject to speculate on, than permanent stock, whose value is less subject to great and sudden fluctuations. The consequence was, that speculation was principally confined to the purchase of navy bills, and the funds were left to be in a great measure supported by those who bought with a view of holding permanent property in them. Hence
2. their

their price necessarily diminished : the public borrowed at the rate of that diminished price, and thus suffered another material loss, by contracting a naval debt.

Besides, if the officers, or board, who contracted in the name of the public, could give either money, or such securities as might be disposed of at market, without any material discount, goods could be purchased on much more advantageous terms than was formerly usual*.

These abuses became so glaring, that they could be suffered no longer ; and hence, by an act 37 Geo. III. c. 26, (30th Dec. 1796), a plan was established for the more speedy payment of all navy, victualling, and transport bills posterior to that time, by which “ every bill issued by or under

* It appears, by the following extract from the Lord Chancellor’s speech to both Houses, Oct. 19, 1721, that the subject was pretty well understood even at that time.—“ I have ordered
 “ estimates to be prepared for the service of the ensuing year,
 “ and likewise an account of the debts of the navy to be laid
 “ before you : you cannot but be sensible of the ill consequences
 “ that arise from such a large debt remaining unprovided for ;
 “ and that as long as the navy and victualling bills are at a
 “ very high discount, they do not only affect all other public
 “ credit, but greatly increase the charge and expence of the
 “ current service. It is therefore very much to be wished,
 “ that you could find a method of discharging this part of the
 “ national debt, which of all others, is the most heavy and
 “ burdensome ; and by that means have it in your power to
 “ ease your country of some part of the taxes, which from an
 “ absolute necessity they have been obliged to pay.” Is it not
 hardly credible that so pernicious a mode of borrowing money
 should remain unaltered till the year 1796 ?

“ the authority of the commissioners of the navy,
 “ victualling, and transport offices respectively,
 “ shall be made payable on a certain day to be
 “ expressed in each particular bill, which day shall
 “ not be later than three calendar months from
 “ the date of such bill, with interest at the rate of
 “ $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent. per day* from the date of the bill
 “ till the same shall become payable.” This is
 certainly a great improvement on the old system,
 and it would have saved many millions had it
 been earlier adopted, and extended to ordnance
 debentures. But in my judgment it would have
 been still better had the possibility of increasing a
 debt without the authority of parliament been pre-
 vented. The minister might have been required to
 apply for liberty to issue a certain quantity of what
 might be called naval or ordnance exchequer bills,
 bearing an interest of *4 per cent.* to be paid half
 yearly at the exchequer. The credit of such bills
 could never be greatly affected, and little difficulty
 would have been found in converting them into a
4 per cent. stock whenever funds for defraying the
 interest, could have been provided for that purpose.

We shall next proceed to give a general view of
 the national debt in January 1804, both funded and
 unfunded^b.

^b By act 42 Geo. 3. c. 70. The treasury is directed annually
 to cause accounts of the revenues, expenditure, &c. of Great
 Britain, to be made up to 5th January, and laid before Parlia-
 ment, on or before the 25th March yearly.

GENERAL VIEW of the NATIONAL DEBT in January 1804, including the Irish and Imperial Loans, and without deducting the Sums already redeemed.

Stock or Fund.	Capital.	Interest.	Expense of Management.
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1. Due to Corporations properly called Stocks.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1. Due to the Bank of England on permanent security -	11,686,800	0	0	350,604	0	0	5,898	3	3
2. South Sea Stock -	3,662,784	8	6	109,883	10	8	2,134	4	4

2. Due to Individuals, on Perpetual Securities, properly called Funds.

1. The 3 per cent. Consols -	341,645,183	4	5½	10,297,355	9	11	154,460	6	7½
2. The 3 per cent. Reduced, including £.4,200,000, due the East India Company -	123,096,561	6	4	3,740,896	16	9	56,113	9	0½
3. The 3 per cent. 1726 -	1,000,000	0	0	30,000	0	0	450	0	0
4. The 4 per cent. Bank Annuities -	49,725,084	17	2	1,989,003	7	10	22,376	5	9
5. The 5 per cent. Navy Annuities -	28,125,582	19	7	1,406,279	2	10	12,656	10	2½
6. The 5 per cent. 1797 -	22,352,456	5	0	1,117,622	16	3	10,058	12	1
7. Old South Sea Annuities -	11,907,470	2	7	357,224	2	1	6,938	4	1
8. New South Sea Annuities -	8,494,830	2	10	254,844	8	1	4,949	14	8
9. The 3 per cent. deferred Stock -	1,740,623	0	0				783	5	7

3. Due to Individuals on temporary Annuities, which are also funded.

1. Bank Short Annuities -	-	418,333	0	11	4,706	4	10½
2. Bank Long Annuities -	-	1,063,702	12	0½	11,966	13	0½
3. Exchequer, Life, and Tontine Annuities -	-	127,750	2	8½	5,490	6	8

4. Foreign Loans guaranteed by Great Britain.

1. Imperial 3 per cent. Annuities -	7,502,633	6	8	225,079	0	0	3,376	3	8
2. Imperial Short Annuities -				230,000	0	0	2,587	10	0
Carry over	£.610,940,011	13	1½	21,776,167	0	0½	306,025	9	6½

Ch. I. OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Stock or Fund.	Capital.	Interest.	Expense of Management.
Brought over	610,940,011 13 ½	21,776,167 0 0 ½	1,000,000 9 6 ½
5. The Unfunded Debt.			
1. Exchequer Bills	19,067,600 0 0	801,787 10 5 ½	} Paying
2. Treasury Bills	750,611 3 10 ½		
3. Army Extraordina- ries	732,334 0 0		
4. Barracks	1,481,041 25 4		
5. Ordnance	646,311 14 6		
6. Navy	4,037,307 17 8 ½		
7. Civil List advances	5,246 17 6		
		300,000 0 0	} Paying
Total	£. 637,660,465 2 0 ½	22,076,167 10 6 ½	316,025 9 6 ½

The amount of the capitals paid off by the commissioners for discharging the national debt, and sums redeemed by sale of the land tax, will be stated at the conclusion of this chapter. In the above sum is included, the capitals in the 3 per cent. consols, the 3 per cent. reduced, and the 4 per cent. consols, the interest of which is payable by the Irish government, amounting in all to £.25,548,000 of capital, of which £.1,595,671 was redeemed on 1st February 1804.

Such is the extent of our national incumbrances, without deducting the amount of the different funds purchased by the commissioners. It will next be proper to examine the various plans which might have been adopted for the redemption thereof at the conclusion of the American war. It was then proposed, either to abolish our public debts by act of parliament ;—or, to tax the funds in common with other property ;—or, to enter into a new agreement with the public creditors, on terms favourable to redemption ;—or, to establish a sink-

ing fund, and with it to purchase their respective claims and interests at the price they fetched in the market. We shall consider each of these in their order.

2. Abolition
of the na-
tional debt.

It is asserted by a great political author, that when the debts of a nation have once been accumulated to a certain degree, scarcely an instance can be produced of their having been fairly and completely paid: That the public revenue has been liberated, either by an avowed bankruptcy, or by raising the denomination of the coin, and making a pretended payment^c. Of the former, two instances occur in the ancient history of this country. Twice were the debts of Henry the Eighth of England abolished by act of parliament^d, and the king released from the engagements he had come under

^c Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 563.

^d These acts are mentioned in Part II. chap. iii. vol. i. p. 389. The first act, in the 21st year of his reign, is intitled, "An Act for the releasing unto the king such sums of money as he was to pay to his subjects for any manner of loan, by letters missive, or otherwise." And by act 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 12. "The lords and commons do remit unto the king all such sums of money as he hath borrowed of them, or any other, by way of prest or loan, by his privy seal sithence the first day of January, anno 33 of his reign. And if the king have paid to any person any sum of money, which he borrowed, by sale of land or otherwise, the same person, his heirs, executors, or administrators, shall repay the same to the king. And if any person has sold his privy seal to another, the seller shall repay the money to the buyer thereof." These loans, however, were contracted without the sanction of parliament.

of

of repaying considerable sums of money borrowed by him. Of the latter also, some examples are not wanting.

But whatever might have been done above some centuries ago, under the government of an arbitrary tyrant, respecting debts contracted without parliamentary authority, the case is widely different in regard to our present national incumbrances, for the security of which the faith of the representatives of the nation has been pledged. It is also to be considered, that the public debts have now become so interwoven in the very frame of our government, that the consequences of a sudden extinction must inevitably be fatal*. There is not a single individual in this country who would not, sooner or latter be affected by it. If one kind of property, sanctioned in the most legal manner, can thus be annihilated, how can any other species be possessed in safety? All faith between man and man would thus be dissolved, the bonds of society would be broken, and the laws of a nation could no longer

* The subject has been so ably handled by Sir James Stewart in his *Principles of Political Economy*, that the reader who may be desirous of investigating this matter to the bottom will find it fully elucidated by that intelligent author.

The author of *Letters on the Present State of England*, printed *anno* 1772, in Letter 7, controverts Sir James Stewart's principles with much plausibility of reasoning. But we trust that there will be no occasion to draw any consolation from the arguments which he alleges respecting the consequences of sacrificing the interest of *the few* to that of *the many*.

continue the objects either of confidence or respect^f.

Whilst, therefore, there is any possibility of extinguishing the capital, or of discharging the interest of the public debt, any deliberate, avowed, and total bankruptcy, founded on fraud and violence, is so inconsistent with every principle of honour and good faith, and in fact is so adverse to the real interests of a nation, that it can never become, in this country, a matter of serious discussion.

2. Taxing
the funds.

But though a public bankruptcy is almost universally acknowledged to be a measure totally

^f About the period of the late rebellion in 1745, the partisans of the exiled family, attempted to increase the popularity of their cause, by hinting that it would produce that supposed blessing, the immediate extinction of the national debt. Dr. Bentham, in his Letter to a Fellow of a College, printed at Oxford *anno* 1749, second edition, p. 20, with considerable force of argument, reprobates such an idea. "It should be
" remembered by those who propose to cancel all our debts at
" once, by an arbitrary act of the legislature, that the proceedings made use of in contracting them have been altogether
" regular and agreeable to law: That, if the administrators of
" our public affairs have been wanting either in common sense
" or common honesty, that the creditors, at least, have been
" free from all guilt upon the occasion, and that whoever industriously sets himself to corrupt his principles about right and
" wrong with regard to one object, will scarcely restrain the
" contagion from extending itself to others, that he, perhaps,
" at first never dreamt of. For an individual who can dwell
" with pleasure on the thought of defrauding strangers, will,
" in time, be little scrupulous about injuring his neighbour or
" his friend."

inde-

indefensible; yet it is asserted by some, that the exemption from all direct taxation which the public creditors have specifically pledged to them, might be dispensed with, and to a certain degree annulled. An idea of this nature was thrown out at the accession of the present royal family^a. The famous maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex*, was adduced in support of such a system in the year 1734, as an immutable law in every society, and as fully sufficient to justify such a measure^b: And when the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, (the Right Hon. William Pitt) was supposed to be occupied in forming a plan for the reduction of the national debt, ideas to that effect were recommended to his attention^c.

In this case two points are to be considered. First, would such a measure be wise? Next, would it be honourable?

^a See *The State and Condition of our Taxes considered, or a Proposal for a Tax upon Funds, shewing the Justice, Usefulness, and Necessity of such a Tax.* London, printed anno 1714. Also Hutchinson's Works, p. 79; where he mentions the design of a short act of parliament of ten lines, for reducing at once the interest of the public debts: a violence, he adds, which nothing but necessity can justify.

^b *Considerations on the Necessity of Taxing the Annuities granted by Parliament, and reducing One Fifth of the Capital Stock of certain Proprietors in the South Sea Company, in order to pay off the National Debt.*—London, printed anno 1734.

^c See Mr. Pigot's *Letters on the Necessity and Advantage of a Taxation on the Public Funds.*—London, printed anno 1786.

Those who maintain the policy of such a step, found their doctrine on the idea, that all public debts are ruinous, and contend, that it would have been fortunate for the nation had they never existed. The advantage, however, of public debts, if kept within proper bounds, can hardly be disputed.

Others imagine that public credit is not so easily destroyed as is commonly imagined; that it would stand many a severe shock; and that even a bankruptcy would not prevent its reviving^k. . The taxes imposed on the public funds of Holland are alleged as a proof how little any serious consequences from such a system are to be apprehended. The prudent and economical government however, which exists in Holland, and the confidence placed in it by the people, enable it to adopt measures in regard to taxation, which could not be ventured on in any other country.

Lastly, it is said, lay a general tax upon property and income of every description, the funds not excepted, and resolve, for the future, to have no

^k "So great dupes are the generality of mankind, that notwithstanding such a violent shock to public credit as a voluntary bankruptcy in England would occasion, it would not, probably, be long ere credit would again revive, in as flourishing a condition as before. A prudent man, in reality, would rather lend to the public, immediately after they had taken a sponge to their debts, than at present, inasmuch as an opulent knave, even though one could not force him to pay, is a preferable debtor to an honest bankrupt."—Hume's Essay on Public Credit, &c. edit. 1772. vol. i. p. 377.

recourse

recourse to public credit, but to raise, if not the whole, at least a considerable part of the necessary supplies within the year. And surely, if such a system is practicable, any objections to such a plan, in so far as respects the policy of the measure, would in some degree be removed.

But if such a step is considered in the view of national honour, and not of political expediency, unless it is voluntarily assented to by the creditors, or acquiesced in by them, it is, in principle at least, equally unjustifiable with a total sponge. The same authority which annuls, and the same arguments which justify, the compulsive abolition of any part of the capital, or of the interest of the public debts, may be extended to the whole. One step would probably form a precedent for another of greater importance, until, with the extinction of public faith, even private virtue might be annihilated. These are sentiments, which have ever been maintained in this country as the firmest basis of its prosperity and power¹.

All violent and compulsive measures, therefore, being liable to weighty and important objections, it is next to be considered, whether the public ought not to endeavour to enter into such new agreements

^{3.} Entering into a new agreement with the public creditors.

¹ It was well observed by M. Necker, in a speech to the Etats Generaux of France, in his defence of public credit: "Ainsi, la bon foi, la politique, le bonheur, & la puissance, tous les principes, tous les interets enfin qui touchent également le roi & ses peuples, viennent plaider la cause des creanciers de l'etat & leur servir de defense."

with

with its creditors as might prove favourable to the great object of redemption. Among other plans formed for so beneficial a purpose, the following was drawn up by the author of this work, and transmitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1786, when the bill for establishing an unalienable sinking fund was originally under the consideration of parliament.

The Capital of the Funded Debt was then as follows :

Stock of the three companies	—	£.19,599,184
Three <i>per cent.</i> funds	—	168,061,869
Four <i>per cents.</i>	—	32,750,000
Five <i>per cents.</i>	—	17,863,993
		<hr/>
Total		£.238,281,046

Such a load, it was observed, however heavy and dreadful it may appear, ought rather to be considered as furnishing us with the means of amassing a national treasure more valuable than the mines of Mexico and Peru, “ which neither moths “ can corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal ;” than as a burden from which we ought to discharge ourselves by dishonest means.

It is evident, that the public to that amount may be safely trusted. The most cautious usurer can never hesitate to lend to the government of this country, to the extent, at least, of its present debt. Every shilling, therefore, deducted from that sum, *is so much treasure gained*; and when acquired in
this

this manner, is safer than if accumulated in public coffers; for it remains unexposed to open violence, or to private rapacity and fraud; and, at the same time, is equally attainable, when it becomes necessary.

There is nothing, therefore, in which the public can be more deeply interested, than in lessening this load; and, in fact, the diminution of our debts is, in this light, of more importance than as furnishing us with the means, according to the common idea, of abolishing the taxes, and consequently removing the burdens by which the industry of the nation is supposed to be obstructed. That object is certainly material; but it is surely of more importance, by judicious measures, and by calling forth the public spirit and exertions of the people, to place our credit and finances in such a situation, that foreign powers, instead of venturing to contend with us, would find it necessary to court our friendship and alliance. Such would be our situation, were from one to two hundred millions of our present national incumbrances fairly and honourably discharged; for we should, in that case, have a treasure to that amount for ever at our command.

The means of extinguishing this debt, after an annual surplus or sinking fund is provided for that purpose, are two: First, to purchase the claims of the creditors at the price they bear in the market; or, secondly, to bargain previously with the creditors on fair and equitable terms, for the extinction
of

of their debts. The latter plan, in every point of view, seems to be preferable; at least, it would be desirable to make the experiment how far the public creditors would voluntarily enter into any agreement of that nature, before the other measure was adopted.

The *3 per cents.* if sold at their price in the market, when the unalienable sinking fund was proposed in May 1786, namely, *70 per cent.* would yield only £.117,643,318, and consequently there existed at that time about fifty millions of artificial capital among the burdens of the public.

If the nation were to pay off all the present *3 per cents.* at par, it would give away many millions for which it received no value. For when £.100 of *3 per cent.* stock was sold for sixty pounds, or at any other price below par, the *3 per cent.* funds were considered nearly as perpetual irredeemable annuities, and as such the capital given was held to be of little consequence; the interest to be paid being accounted the only object worthy of attention. But if those funds are to be paid off, such contracts can hardly be justified. Nor would it be consistent in the government of the country to suffer laws to remain in the statute book against private usury, were the public to connive at such practices in regard to itself.

But the most fatal consequences resulting from paying off the *3 per cents.* without such a bargain being previously concluded, is this, that the more they are diminished, the higher they will rise in value, and
confe-

consequently the heavier, in the view of redemption, must the real burden of the debt become.

It is evident, at the same time, that to fix upon a plan acceptable to a majority of the creditors, and beneficial to the public, must be attended with considerable difficulty.

A noble lord (Earl Stanhope), proposed converting the 3 into 4 *per cents.*; and another very ingenious writer on this subject (Mr. Gale) maintains the necessity of changing them into 5 *per cents.* But as the plan of converting a great into a small capital, is a new project, never formerly attempted, it cannot be foretold, with any degree of certainty, whether either of these ideas would succeed to any extent.

The prejudices of mankind unfortunately seem to run counter to such a conversion. It is well known that the 3 *per cents.* for the interest they yield, always sell higher in proportion than the 4 *per cents.* and the 4 *per cents.* than the 5.

A great capital, even where it is of no intrinsic value, must always have considerable weight with monied men. The property of a landed gentleman is estimated according to the annual income he enjoys; whereas the importance of the opulent stockholder depends on the number of pounds of capital that he possesses. The one would boast, for instance, of having £.5000 *per annum*, and the other of having £.100,000 in the stocks, or at his banker's. The first, therefore, is anxious to increase his rents; the second, to augment his capital; and

and both are too apt to sacrifice a part of the substance to the appearance of wealth.

The brokers, also, who have great weight in the alley, and great property in the funds, and the bankers of the metropolis, who share in the profits of their respective brokers, are interested to oppose such a conversion; for as the profits of the broker arise from a *per centage* on the capitals of the stock transferred, if the capital is diminished, to that extent is the advantage of the broker annihilated.

Considering the immense number of public creditors, it cannot be supposed that any one scheme should meet the ideas of every individual of which that numerous body is composed; and, perhaps there are some to whom a *4 per cent.* or a *5 per cent.* fund might be made acceptable. It matters not, indeed, how many different plans are submitted to the consideration of the public creditors, provided all of them are beneficial to the public. It is apprehended, however, that less difficulty would be found in carrying the following system into effect, than any other that has hitherto been suggested.

The plan proposed is shortly this: That the names of all the *3 per cent.* creditors consenting to this proposal, shall be put half-yearly into a balloting box immediately after the books of the Bank and South Sea company are shut in order to pay their respective dividends, and that *one tenth* part of the stocks standing in the names of the different creditors, shall be paid off in the order in which they

they cast up, *at the rate of 75 per cent.* until the whole sum to be paid at that period be exhausted^m.

To this new fund all the *3 per cent.* creditors should be invited to subscribe in books to be opened for that purpose; and indeed, when once a *3 per cent.* stock, redeemable at 75, was established, it would be for the interest of the public to convert the *4* and *5 per cents.* and even the temporary annuities, into *3 per cents.* instead of reversing such a proposition.

The advantages resulting from the plan are as follows:

If, in consequence of this proposition, £.160,000,000 of *3 per cents.* were declared redeemable at the rate of *75 per cent.* the principal would be virtually diminished *one fourth*, and consequently forty millions of artificial capital would be actually discharged.

Another advantage is, that the public would always be able to borrow cheaper on a *3 per cent.*

^m It was farther proposed, were it necessary, to establish a lottery, consisting of a million of tickets intrinsically worth one guinea each, and consequently amounting in value to £.1,050,000 and to distribute that sum entirely in prizes, for the benefit of the *3 per cent.* creditors who consented to the above regulation, giving to every creditor a ticket for every £.160 of *3 per cent.* stock that he subscribed, subject to the preceding regulation. By establishing classes also, as in the guinea lottery of 1757 (30 Geo. II. cap. 5.), the plan might be calculated so as to answer any number of the *3 per cent.* creditors that chose to subscribe. But the plan, it is believed, is so beneficial to the public creditor in itself, as to render any premium of that kind unnecessary.

stock, redeemable at 75, than by any other means ; for the chance of being paid off one tenth part of the stock held by any individual in a fair rotation by ballot, would not greatly diminish the value of that species of property. The public would consequently borrow cheap, without paying dear, when its debts came to be redeemed.

A third advantage is, that this plan, beyond any other that has been proposed, would render the sinking fund unalienable. For, in addition to the contract that would thus be entered into between the creditors and the public, it is to be considered, that in time of peace, when the 3 *per cents.* might probably sell from 70 to 85, or even 90 *per cent.* it would then be for the interest of the public^a to prosecute the measure ; whereas, in time of war, when the same stocks would probably be from 55 to 70, it would be for the advantage of the creditors to insist upon payment. Indeed, there is no other means by which it would uniformly be for the interest of one or other of the parties concerned to persevere in a plan for diminishing the national debt.

Thus, by a slow and gradual operation, without any violent change or convulsion whatever^a, the
great

^a By some it may be contended that such a conversion may be justified without applying for the voluntary consent of the creditors: that, by the laws of the country, lands and tenements may be taken from the proprietor without his consent, in order to make fortifications, and other public works for the defence
and

great load of artificial debt would be discharged with advantage, or at least, it may safely be asserted, without any material loss to any individual creditor, and, indeed, without putting him to any additional trouble or inconvenience. For the public creditor, at the same time that he received his dividend, would have the tenth part of his capital paid to him, if his name came up in the ballot, which he might immediately re-invest in the stocks at the current price, if he had no occasion to dispose of it otherwise.

There are two descriptions of persons to whom these ideas are more particularly addressed; those who are interested for the public, and those who care only for themselves.

To the first, it is almost unnecessary to suggest, the satisfaction that they must feel, from countenancing any regulation, that must be productive of such lasting benefits to their country. To such public-spirited creditors, (and I hope there are many entitled to that description), I should be apt to say, in the beautiful words of Shakespear,

and service of the kingdom, the current price or present value being paid; and it cannot be supposed that the funds is the only species of property which cannot be purchased at its present value by the public, or altered in its nature and form by the authority of parliament, when such an alteration brings security to the creditor, and safety and happiness to the nation. Any plan, however, of so beneficial a nature, will probably meet with the voluntary sanction, rather than any disapprobation on the part of the creditor, particularly as he stands exactly in his former situation, if the plan does not succeed.

Be touch'd with human gentleness and love,
Forgive a moiety of the principal;
 Glancing an eye of pity on our losses,
 That have of late so huddled on our back,
 Enough to press the mightiest empire down,
 And pluck commiseration on the state,
 From brassy bosoms and rough hearts of flint,
 From stubborn Turks, and Tartars never train'd,
 To offices of tender courtesy.

With regard to the selfish creditor, who attends merely to his own interest; and, provided his annuity be paid, is indifferent by what oppressive means it is procured, there are circumstances which are well entitled to his serious reflection.

However productive the revenue is at present, events may take place to render it so very deficient, that the value of his property would be not a little diminished; nay, the very payment of his annuity may become precarious, and the repayment of his capital very improbable indeed.

It is questionable, whether the people at large, unless flattered by some prospect of future relief, in consequence of a new and equitable bargain with their creditors, will long be prevailed upon to bear, even the present load of taxes, with patience and submission,

On the other hand, if a fair agreement were entered into, according to the plan above proposed, the public might perhaps be induced to furnish a great addition to the various sums already appropriated; in consequence of which, the value of the property of the creditors would be rapidly augmented,

augmented, and all idea of the possibility of a public bankruptcy would be put an end to.

But without entering farther into these abstract speculations, it may be sufficient to remark, that the loss that can possibly be sustained by any individual stockholder, is so trifling in itself, and of so very gradual a nature, that it can be felt by none of them, and will be amply compensated by the additional security and certainty of repayment which the plan affords.

Besides, the public creditors ought to consider, that their annuity continues exactly the same, without the smallest diminution; and, in regard to their capital, that there is nothing to prevent a *3 per cent.* stock, redeemable at 75, to rise to 90 or 100, in the same manner as the *5 per cents.* have lately risen to above 115, though there is a probability of their being redeemed at £.100 in the course of a few years.

To conclude,—If such a system be consented to by the creditors, and sanctioned by parliament, the public will be encouraged, with vigour and alacrity, to persevere in the arduous work of discharging the incumbrances it lies under, and Great Britain may yet display the only spectacle of the kind that has yet been exhibited to the world, namely, a nation burdened with a heavier load of debts and taxes than any other country was ever subjected to, yet bravely bearing up under the load, and discharging it with honour and fidelity.

On the other hand, if no such conversion or regulation is carried into effect, it were better for

the public, instead of expending a million *per annum* so ineffectually as it must be, if the 3 *per cents.* are to be paid off at the price to which they will naturally rise, either to abolish unpopular and burthensome taxes to that amount, or to lay out that sum in making public roads, in forming inland navigations, in improving our harbours, in adding to our fleet, or in plans for increasing our wealth, by encouraging the industry of the towns and the cultivation of the country.

Such were the sentiments entertained by the author upon this important subject, at the time when the unalienable sinking fund was voted by parliament; the consideration of which he was anxious should have been referred to a committee of impartial, intelligent, and respectable representatives of the people, in whose hands it would have stood a much better chance of success, than if brought forward by any individual. Besides, much light would have been thrown upon the subject, by fifteen men of intelligence and ability, examining into the state of our debts, discussing the questions which might arise concerning them, and receiving proposals for their redemption: and if such a committee paid proper attention to every plan for the improvement of our finances, suggested by any individual, whether in or out of parliament; and consulted with the most intelligent directors of the Bank, of the South Sea and East India companies, some of the greatest public creditors themselves, the most respectable brokers, and also with such
merchants

merchants as have the greatest correspondence with our foreign creditors; the attention of the public would have been fixed upon such a committee, and it must have acquired so much popularity and such general confidence, that no reasonable plan it could have proposed would have met with opposition*.

The only other plan that remains to be considered, is the one that was adopted, namely, that of buying up the public debts at the price for which the creditors may chuse to dispose of them.

4. Buying up the public debts.

I certainly would have preferred the plan above-mentioned, namely, that of settling a new agreement with the public creditors, on terms favourable to redemption; but it is impossible not to admit, that many important advantages have been derived from the system recommended by Mr. Pitt; by which, 1. An annual sum was appropriated for purchasing the public debts, at the market-price; and 2. With a view of insuring a fund to discharge

* It is more than probable, that the time will come when the plan above suggested, for appointing a committee of respectable members to form a new agreement between the public and its creditors, will be adopted. In that case, it might be proper to consider whether the creditors should be requested to sign their *assent*, or their *dissent*, to the plan that might be proposed. Their *dissent* would be the most advisable: for in the great operation carried on by Mr. Pelham, *anno* 1749, where the creditors were required to subscribe their *assent*, doubts were entertained respecting the authority that many had to subscribe; and by 27 Geo. III. cap. 13. clause 57, the mode of dissent was preferred.

all new incumbrances as they were respectively constituted, it was enacted, that when any new loans were made, besides a fund for paying the interest, that a surplus of one *per cent.* should also be provided for diminishing the principal of the debt.

We shall now proceed to state the progress that has been made in discharging the national incumbrances, both under the authority of the commissioners appointed for that purpose, and by the act for redeeming the land tax.

Account of the sums redeemed by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, from 1st August 1786, to 1st Feb. 1804, and by the land tax :

1. 3 <i>per cent.</i> consol. annuities redeemed	£. 31,865,400	0	0
2. 3 <i>per cent.</i> consol. annuities redeemed	36,766,667	0	0
3. Old and new South Sea annuities	5,789,000	0	0
4. 3 <i>per cent.</i> annuities, 1751	660,000	0	0
5. 4 <i>per cent.</i> consol. annuities	2,617,400	0	0
	<hr/>		
	77,698,467	0	0
6. Redeemed by the land tax	21,147,888	19	2
	<hr/>		
	98,846,355	19	2
7 Imp. 3 <i>per cent.</i> annuities redeemed	459,828	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£. 99,306,183	19	2

The sum annually applicable for the reduction of the national debt, on the 1st Feb. 1804, was as follows :

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT of Sums annually applicable to the reduction of the National Debt.

1. Annual charge by act 26 Geo. III.	£. 1,000,000	0	0
2. Do. by act 42 Geo. III.	200,000	0	0
3. Annuities for 99 and 96 years, expired anno 1792.	54,880	14	6
4. Annuities for 10 years, which expired anno 1787.	25,000	0	0
5. Life annuities unclaimed for three years, or of which the nominees died prior to 5th July 1802.	49,376	15	7
6. Dividend on 75,081,067 at 3 per cent.	2,252,432	0	2
7. Dividend on 2,617,400 at 4 per cent.	104,696	0	0
8. Annuity at 1 per cent. on part of capi- tals created since 1st Feb. 1793.	2,625,240	16	9
	<hr/>	6,311,626	7 0
9. 1 per cent. on the capital of the Imperial debt	36,693	0	0
10. Dividend on 459,828 at 3 per cent.	13,794	16	9
	<hr/>	50,487	16 9
	<hr/>	£. 6,362,114	3 9

It is evident that such a sum as six millions, regularly applied to the reduction of the national debt, enormous as it may appear in its present state, would soon effect a very considerable diminution of it; but unfortunately, before a sinking fund has time to operate to any great extent, new debts are contracted; and one year of a general war, dissipates the savings of many years of peace. At the same time, if we were fortunate enough to

see the tranquillity of Europe established on a solid foundation, there can be no doubt, that such progress would be made in discharging our national incumbrance, as never have been formerly exhibited by any other nation.

CHAP. II.

Of the Revenue of Scotland.

HISTORIANS differ materially in the representations they give of the ancient revenue of the Scottish monarchs. By one celebrated author we are told, that their income was scanty and precarious; and that they were kept in continual indigence, anxiety, and dependence^a: whereas it is asserted by others, that such accounts are greatly exaggerated; and that our kings possessed property and wealth fully adequate to their wants, and at least equal, in proportion to the extent and opulence of their dominions, to those of the other princes of Europe^b. The controversy is far from being

^a Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 14. second edition, quarto.

^b Buchanan, Hist. lib. iv. cap. 32. edit. 1762. Stuart's Observations concerning the public Law of Scotland, chap. iii. sect. i. p. 45. Abercrombie's Martial Achievements, vol. iv. p. 161. edit. 1762. Nay, according to Guthrie, General History of Scotland; vol. i. p. 324. the revenues of Scotland,
in

being of essential importance in these times; and the result of an impartial inquiry probably would be, that such of the Scottish monarchs as had abilities calculated for their station, had seldom much reason to complain of pecuniary difficulties; whereas such as were negligent in their affairs, or were profuse to needy favourites, and trusted the government of the country, to ministers unworthy of the confidence placed in them, were necessarily involved in perpetual misery and distress.

The sources of their revenues were similar to those of the other kingdoms of Europe at that time. They possessed considerable domains, which on the one hand were perpetually diminishing by grants to individuals, and a profuse liberality to the church; and on the other, received continual accessions from the confiscations which were continually taking place in ages of such turbulence and confusion. The sovereigns of Scotland also enjoyed the same lucrative prerogatives, which have been already described as belonging to those of England. The customs, mines, and fishings,

in the reign of David I. contemporary with Stephen of England, were very little, if at all, short of those of England. See also Shakespear in *Macbeth*, act iv. scene 3.

— — “ Yet do not fear

“ A staunchless avarice, that, were you king,
 “ You should cut off the nobles for their lands,
 “ Desire his jewels, and this other's house:
 “ Scotland hath soysons (plenty) to fill up your will,
 “ Of your mere own.”

were

were not unproductive. Occasionally they possessed valuable property and estates in England; and it will be seen in the progress of this chapter, that taxes were sometimes levied on great emergencies for public purposes.

By some writers the extent of the royal domains of Scotland has been disputed. In the collection of laws attributed to Malcolm II.^c, it is said, that the king “gave and distributed all his lands of the realm of Scotland amongst his men, and reserved nathing in propertie to himselve, but the royall dignitie, and the Mute-hill of Scone; and all his barons gave and granted to him, the ward and reliefe of the heire of ilk Baron, quhen he should happen to deceis, for the king’s sustention.” There is every reason, however, to believe, that this law was either differently worded in the original, or is entirely spurious. It is hardly possible to believe that any prince, particularly so able a monarch as Malcolm, would give away the whole property of the crown, and restrict himself to so precarious a revenue as the income of wardship and relief; which, in a later period, *anno* 1474, produced only £.1,483 : 19 : 0½ of the money of Scotland at that time^d. It is certain, that both Malcolm and his successors were afterwards pos-

^c Published by Skeene the antiquary, together with the books of Regiam Majestatem. Many persons, however, are of opinion, that Malcolm III. was the author of them, and urge very strong arguments in support of that idea.

^d Maitland’s History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 328.

leased of considerable tracts of territory; and David, king of Scotland, who died 24th May 1153, was able to erect by grants from his domains, four new bishoprics, nine capital abbeys, four priories, and two nunneries, the revenues of which amounted to no less a sum than one hundred and twenty thousand franks*. When the English historians also inform us, that William the Conqueror bestowed on his followers *all the lands of England*, the royal domains, it is well known, were not comprehended in the grant. In the same manner it is probable, that Malcolm's donative, if it ever existed, contained only such lands as were not unalienably annexed to the crown, and consequently might be legally disposed of†.

The first tax levied in Scotland, at least so far William. as can be traced by record‡, was for the purpose
of

* Guthrie, vol. i. p. 234.

† See farther upon this subject, Maitland, vol. i. p. 319, &c. Guthrie, vol. i. p. 226. 229, &c.

‡ Buchanan says, that Mogaldus, the twenty-third king of Scotland, enacted, that the property of such as were condemned by law should be forfeited to the exchequer, and that no part of it should be given to their wives or family. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 30. edit. 1762. That Conarus, his successor, in vain proposed, that a valuation should be made of every man's estate, and that a proportionable tax should be imposed on each individual, for the better support of the crown. So far from succeeding, he was deposed as unfit to reign, for squandering the royal patrimony, and making such a proposal. And it was publicly asserted, "*Quod falsam esse querelam regias opes sumtibus esse impares.*" "*Quippe quibus tot superiores reges bello clari & formidabiles*
2. "*hostibus*

of procuring from the English crown a full and complete renunciation of its claims to the homage and dependency of that country. William the Lion, as he is sometimes called, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the English, whilst he was besieging the castle of Alnwick, in Northumberland. In order to procure his release, both the king and the people of Scotland became bound to acknowledge the feudal superiority of the English crown; and Henry II. then king of England actually received the homage of William and his subjects. But Richard I. Henry's successor, impelled by a passion for military glory, and an ardent zeal to defend the Christian cause against the attacks of infidels, resolved to lead an army to the East for so popular a purpose; and in order both to procure money for so distant, and consequently so expensive, an expedition, to conciliate the favour of his most dangerous neighbour, and preserve his dominions in peace during his absence, he agreed, in consideration of 10,000 marks, sterling, to abandon, and solemnly to renounce, all claim to the homage of the Scottish crown. It is impossible

*" hostibus in pace honeste & splendide vixerint. Quod si cui patri-
 " monium publicum angustius videatur, non e civium direptione, sed
 " a parsimonia domestica quod deest supplendum."* Ditto, cap. 32.
 He also states, that in the reign of Malcolm II. the lucrative feudal prerogatives were annexed to the crown, lib. vii. cap. 51. These are the only particulars recorded by that elegant and classical, but too often partial and credulous historian, with regard to the more ancient revenues of the Scottish monarchs.

at present to ascertain whether the sum was levied by voluntary contribution, by the authority of the crown, or by the sanction of parliament. It is only known, that, as it was intended for the general benefit, it was not paid from the private revenue of the sovereign, (too inconsiderable indeed to bear such a burden), but by the public at large^a.

The revenues of Scotland during the reign of Alexander III. this monarch may be pretty nearly ascertained. *Anno* 1250, a meeting was held at York, to settle a treaty of marriage between Alexander III. and Margaret, daughter of Henry III. of England. The queen dowager of Scotland appeared on the occasion with peculiar splendour, her revenues amounting, we are told, to 4000 marks *per annum*. The widow of a monarch then enjoyed a third part of the royal income; consequently the whole must have produced 12,000 marks¹.

^a Lord Kaimes, in his *Historical Law Tracts*, p. 41. supposes that it was levied by voluntary contribution. Dr. Gilbert Stuart, *Observations*, p. 66. contends, on the other hand, that it was levied by parliamentary authority. I am rather inclined, however, to imagine, from the deed quoted by lord Kaimes, that the money was raised by the authority of the crown; the monks of the Cistercian order, before they paid the money to the king, having insisted upon a deed by which it was declared, that the contribution should not be made a precedent of for the future. Such a clause would not have been necessary, had it been either a voluntary contribution, or a parliamentary tax.

¹ *Matt. Paris ad annum* 1250. Yet as Guthrie observes, vol. i. p. 396. her income in another place is said to be 7000 marks a-year, by the same author.

It

It is also to be remarked, that Alexander gave only 14,000 marks with his daughter Margaret, when she was espoused to Eric king of Norway. It is true, that the vassals of the crown, by the principles of the feudal system, were obliged to assist their sovereign on such an occasion; but it is rather improbable, that the king would much exceed one year's rent of his estates. A tax in aid of the crown was then levied; and, if we may believe an eminent lawyer who has written upon the subject, all the lands of the kingdom holding of the crown were valued; and the rate at which they were then estimated, has since been known under the name of the old extent*.

Robert
Bruce.

The successful valour of this deliverer of Scotland was rewarded in a manner hardly to be paralleled in any feudal kingdom. Permanent taxes, it is well known, were contrary to the general nature and practice of that system. It was held, that the crown had no title, except on very particular occasions, to any income but what arose from the royal domains. The crown lands, however, in the course of the wars between the Scotch and English, during the reign of Edward I. of England, had suffered so materially, that they were evidently

* Kaimes, Historical Law Tracts, p. 423. Dr. Stuart, however, on lord Hailes' authority, proves that there was one still more ancient. p. 203. But though there were older valuations, that which took place in the reign of Alexander III. might, in after-periods, be distinguished by the name of *the old extent*, when opposed to later ones.

inadequate

inadequate to the maintenance of the sovereign; and Robert Bruce, having in vain attempted a resumption, found himself reduced to the necessity of petitioning his subjects for a supply. Accordingly, in a parliament held *anno* 1326, a subsidy of the tenth penny was granted to continue during the king's life¹.

The son of Robert Bruce was not so fortunate a warrior as his father. Instigated by the king of France, who was desirous of diverting the forces of Edward III. from attacking his dominions, David II. invaded England; but, in the course of a battle fought near Durham, he was taken prisoner. His captivity lasted above ten years, nor was he released until he became bound to pay, by way of ransom, 100,000 marks²; and having failed in making regular payments, it was afterwards increased, by the penalties incurred, to £.100,000 sterling, attended with this single alleviating circumstance, that twenty-five years were allowed to discharge it. Robert the second, his successor, undertook to pay what was due at David's death, amounting to about £.56,000³; and being very

¹ The original of the indenture which proves this curious and important transaction is to be seen in the advocates library at Edinburgh. It has of late been published by different authors, particularly lord Kaimes, and Dr. Stuart.

² The discerning and ingenious annalist of Scotland has traced the payment of this ransom with much greater accuracy than any preceding historian. See Annals of Scotland, by Sir David Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 260, 261, 262.

³ Guthrie, vol. iii. p. 92.

punctual in fulfilling the obligation he had entered into°, the whole sum was completed, and a discharge in full was granted by Richard II. on the 1st of December 1383^p.

There still remain two rolls, which, though rather incomplete, furnish evidence sufficiently satisfactory of the revenues and expences of the Scottish crown at the commencement of David's reign. The first is, an account by Reginalde More, lord chamberlain of Scotland, of the receipts and issues from 9th December 1329, to 20th June 1330. The total receipts, including £.84: 1: 1 of crown rents, &c. amounted only to £.1,685: 16: 2½, and the expences to £.3,436: 8: 5. —The surplus expenditure consequently was £.1,750: 12: 2½. The other contains the receipts and expences from the 14th March 1330, to the 14th December 1331. The whole receipts during this period came to £.9,415: 13; the expences to £.11,047: 15: 7½: and thus there was another deficiency to the amount of £.1,632: 2: 7½. That there should be such an unfavourable balance is not to be wondered at; for there is included in the account of the expenditure, the sum of £.6,866: 13: 4 in complete payment of 30,000 marks, which, by the treaty of peace concluded between England and Scotland, the latter was obliged to pay, to compensate for

• Guthrie, p. 102, and 128.

^p Rymer's *Fœdera*, f. vii. p. 417.

the damage which the English had recently sustained by the Scottish incursions^p.

The period to which this account relates, exceeding the space of a year; and there being included in it some contributions to aid the crown in discharging its debts to England, renders it difficult to make an exact calculation of the royal income. It appears, however, that there was received in the above period £.487 : 2 : 1 from the different towns in the kingdom, and £.12 : 14 : 1½ from that of Lanark. The customs yielded £.1,794 : 9 : 6½. The various feudal prerogatives, for the collecting of which the sheriffs in the different counties were responsible, came to £.1,474 : 18 : 0½ making in all £.3,769 : 3 : 10. The account was for the space of about twenty-two months; consequently the receipts *per* month would be £.171 : 6 : 6½, and *per annum* £.2,227 : 4 : 9½ of the money of Scotland at that time.

As to the real value of this sum, we are enabled to form an idea from the price of different articles being inserted in these accounts. It appears from them, that a ton of wine came only to £.3 : 6 : 8 Scotch, that seven chaldron two bolls of wheat, came to £.91 : 19 : 10½ Scotch; which is about 16s. 1½*d.* *per* Scotch boll, and £.1 : 1 : 4½ *per* English quarter; that the price of a mart, or ox, fatted to be killed at the term of Martinmas in November, was 10*s.* or 10*d.* sterling; and the

^p Annals of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 128.

price of a sheep only 14*d*. Scotch¹. Thus, though the sum was small, the real value of this monarch's income was not inconsiderable².

James I.

It has often been remarked, that the house of Stuart, may claim the fatal pre-eminence, over almost every other royal family in modern times, with regard to the distresses which they experienced; and among them, James, the first of that name, of Scotland, was, upon the whole, the most unfortunate:—Exposed in his infancy to the dangerous plots of an ambitious uncle; whilst endeavouring, at the age of only fourteen years, to secure himself from his perfidious attempts, unjustly seized upon by a neighbouring monarch; by him and his successors held in captivity for about fourteen years; at the end of that period obliged to give security for more than the charges incurred in the course of his detention; and after a turbulent reign at home of only thirteen years, at last treacherously assassinated by his own subjects. A picture, on the whole, of royal misery hardly to be paralleled!

The sum required by the court of England for releasing the captive monarch was 60,000 marks, or £.40,000 sterling. Of this sum it would appear, that 10,000 marks were remitted, at the desire of Thomas duke of Exeter; and £.10,000, or 15,000 marks, were given by way of dowry with Jane of

¹ See printed Rolls, p. 6.

² The author was indebted for these two accounts to the late Mr. John Davidson, clerk to the signet, justly celebrated for his extensive knowledge in the legal antiquities of Scotland.

Somerſet, a princeſs of the royal blood of England, who was married to the Scottiſh monarch. Of the remaining 35,000 marks, only two partial payments, amounting to 950 marks, are extant upon record*. The exaction of it indeed was unjuſt. The Engliſh demanded above £.2,000 a year for the king's alimony : whereas he was at firſt maintained for only twenty ſhillings a day† ; and afterwards Sir John Pelham, in whoſe cuſtody he was placed, was allowed, in full of every expence, no more than £.700 *per annum*. James, however, endeavoured to fulfil the obligations under which he had come. He aſſembled a parliament on the 26th May 1424, with a view of levying, by the authority of that aſſembly, the ſum neceſſary to diſcharge the firſt moiety of £.10,000 marks. As the heirs of twelve of the firſt families in Scotland were hoſtages for the punctual payment, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed that every exertion was made in order to raiſe it ; but ſuch was then the impoveriſhed ſtate of Scotland, ruined by intestine commotions, and deſolated by foreign invaders, that even that ſmall ſum could not be levied. The Scots, it is true, were little accuſtomed to taxes ; and the period fixed upon being only fifteen days, was undoubtedly too ſhort. Indeed the ſubſidy came in with ſuch difficulty, and encountered ſo many obſtacles, that the greater part of it was

* Abercrombie, vol. iv. p. 42 and 51.

† Rymer, vol. ix. p. 189.

obliged to be remitted, and only one payment was actually made^a.

In order to raise the sum demanded for the king's release, two acts were passed which are not published in the common edition of the Scotch statutes^b. By the first^c, intitled "Of finance to be made for the king's costage in England," a tax of twelve pence in the pound was laid on all goods and rents, excepting drawing oxen, riding horses, and utensils of house; and by the other, the following taxes were imposed^d.

		Scotch Money
On each boll of wheat	—	£. 0 2 0
On each boll of rye, bear, or pease	—	0 1 4
On each boll of oats	—	0 0 6
On each cow and her follower of two years old		0 6 8
On each wether, sow, &c.	—	0 1 0
On each drawing or ploughing ox of and above three years old	—	0 6 0
On each wild mare and her follower of three years old	—	0 10 0

^a Buchan. lib. x. cap. 27. Abercrombie, vol. iv. p. 50. Lord Kaimes, *Historical Law Tracts*, p. 431, says, upon the authority of the continuator of Fordun, lib. xvi. cap. 9. that the tax amounted the first year to 14,000 marks; that the second year it produced much less; and the people murmuring at it more and more, it was no longer continued. See also Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 235.

^b They are to be seen only in what are called the black acts, because printed in the Saxon characters.

^c 1 Jac. I. cap. 10.

^d Cap. 11. intitled, "Of the manner of taxation to be maid in the realm." In this act, regulations are also enacted as to the taxation of the poundage.

It

It is not to be wondered at that such taxes, imposed upon a people whose principal wealth consisted in their cattle, should occasion much clamour; and consequently that it was found impossible to persevere in levying it. With regard to the Scottish hostages, (as we have no account of their being released), it is supposed that they either died in England, or were dismissed, when, in consequence of the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, both parties found it necessary to cultivate the friendship of Scotland^a.

James, however, not daunted by the opposition which these taxes met with, made two other attempts of a similar nature. The first was upon the marriage of his daughter Margaret to Lewis, eldest son to Charles king of France. No dowry, it is true, was given with the young princess; for her fortune consisted only of a retinue of 6,000 men, who were to act as auxiliaries to the French, and to be maintained at their expence. But as the French, at that time severely pressed by the English, could not send vessels for their conveyance, it was necessary to equip a fleet, to carry over the bride, and her formidable train, in safety to the continent. The Scots, it was imagined, would cheerfully contribute to so popular a purpose; but on the contrary, we are told, that the greater part absolutely refused to pay; and the king found it necessary, in order to remove the disgust which it had occasioned, to restore what had been exacted^b.

^a Maitland, vol. i. p. 606.

^b Buchan. lib. x. cap. 54.

Another subsidy was procured from parliament, to be employed in suppressing the commotions which had taken place among the turbulent Highlanders^c. It was a tax upon land; and it was specially enacted, that if it produced more than was necessary for the purpose, or if the tumults were in the interim settled without expence, that the money was to be laid out in other purposes useful to the public.

Historians accuse this monarch of prying too narrowly into his revenue, particularly in regard to wardships, which he retained in his own hands, instead of bestowing them upon the nearest relations of the ward, or granting them to the well-deserving, according to the usual practice of his predecessors: but this, it was said, the king found necessary to do on account of the scantiness of his income^d.

Among other curious circumstances connected with the finances of this monarch, another deserves to be mentioned; that *anno* 1424 there was an act, imposing a tax of 2*s.* *per* pound on woollen cloth exported, which is favourable to the idea, that the woollen manufacture was then carried on, in Scotland, to some extent.

James II.

The poverty of the crown in the reign of James II. was so very great, that it occasioned in the words of an old act, “the povertie of the realme in general, and manie uther inconvenients are there throw, the quhilkis were too lang to

^c Black acts, folio 22, 15th October 1431.

^d Buchan. lib. x. cap. 45. 48, 49.

“expreeme.” To remedy so great an evil, it was enacted, that the whole of the customs of Scotland should be paid to the king alone; and such as had pensions out of that branch of the revenue were to be otherwise satisfied. Lands of considerable extent also were unalienably annexed to the crown; and it was declared to be illegal to dispose of them without the consent of the estates*. Such regulations have often been ordained; and in every country resummptions have been practised. But public domains can hardly be retained by any law, however strict, from the selfish intrigues of courtiers. Even in republics, those who are in power are equally rapacious and successful.

There is a curious account extant, of the public ^{James III.} revenue of Scotland, in the reign of James III. as made up for the year 1474, by John bishop of Glasgow, then treasurer. The receipts for compositions of charters, wards, marriages, reliefs, escheats, remissions, &c. amounted to £.3,240 : 19 : 9 Scotch. In the discharge, it is stated that the expence for the king's person amounted to £.118 : 18 : 6, that of the queen's to £.113 : 1 : 6, and that of the prince's to £.41 : 1 : 8, making in all for the expence of the royal family £.273 : 1 : 8 Scotch. The balance, being £.2,967 : 1 : 8 Scotch, it is probable was applied to the maintenance of the household and to national purposes†. But the real value of such

* 11 Jac. II. cap. 41, anno 1455.

† See Maitland's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 322, &c. The accounts are too long to be here published, though they contain

such an income ought not to be estimated according to modern ideas. Its importance ought to be calculated, not from its nominal amount, but from what it could then purchase; of which some judgment may be formed from the price of the following articles, not indeed during the reign of the monarch of whom we are now treating; but of his grandfather, James I. The difference, however, between the two periods could not be great.

The price of sundry articles, *anno* 1424.

Article.			Price in old Scotch money.
A boll of wheat	—	—	£.0 2 0
A boll of rye, barley, or pease	—	—	0 1 4
A boll of oats	—	—	0 0 6
An ox or cow	—	—	0 6 8
A horse	—	—	0 13 4 ^c

The revenue of Scotland, therefore, though amounting only to £.3,240:19:9 Scotch, was not so inconsiderable, since it would have purchased about 10,000 oxen, and other articles in proportion. Indeed a great pecuniary income was not necessary to a feudal monarch, who received great part of his rents in kind, and was not liable to any heavy charges for the public defence.

contain some curious articles: For instance, "*Item*, ten elne of canves to make Nikky and Bell a bed to lye on, in the king's chalmer, price of the elne 16*d*. sum 13*s*. 4*d*."—" *Item*, given to Sandy Balfoure the schevar 2*l*."—" *Item*, given to Robert Raa, 4*th* *Novembris*, for certane gluffs coft to the king and queen, as a bill beris subscrivit with the king's hand, 1*l*. 10*s*." There are many other articles equally singular.

• Ruddim. Præ. Anderf. Diplom. Scot. p. 82.

In

In the year 1481, this monarch was not a little alarmed at the preparations made by Edward IV. of England who threatened to invade Scotland with a formidable army. He was therefore obliged to apply to parliament for assistance. It was enacted on that occasion, that every individual in the kingdom should, upon eight days' notice, be ready to attend the king with arms and provisions for at least twenty days; and 600 men were appointed to be raised for the service of the borders; of whom 240 were to be maintained at the expence of the church, as many by the barons, and 120 by the boroughs^a; the proportion which was usual in all taxes levied about that time¹.

It appears that the revenues of Scotland were ^{James IV.} not materially increased during the reign of James IV. For, when that monarch was married to the princess Margaret of England, (an event which laid the foundation of the union, which afterwards happily took place between the two crowns and kingdoms), he became bound to secure to her the same jointure that was usually enjoyed by the queen dowagers of Scotland; that is to say, a third part of the lands and rents belonging to the crown². But as doubts were entertained, whether the third part of those lands would yield £.6,000 Scotch money *per annum*, the king obliged himself, in that

^a Black acts, anno 1481. cap. 100.

¹ Ditto, anno 1483. cap. 108, and anno 1488. cap. 2.

² See the treaty between Edward IV. and James III. anno 1474. Abercrombie, vol. iv. p. 332.

ease, to assign over as many other lands as would make up the deficiency¹.

It may be proper here to mention a singular circumstance not unconnected with the present subject. In a conventional parliament, held *anno* 1488, a subsidy of £.5,000 Scotch was voted to defray the charges of an embassy, for negotiating a treaty of marriage, between the king and a princess of France, of Spain, or of England. Many of the nobles, and retainers of the court, had prevailed upon their young and inexperienced sovereign to grant them a discharge of their respective proportions of the subsidy; but in the ensuing parliament it was declared, that the king himself could not discharge any part of that tax, since it had been granted and appropriated for a public purpose^m.

It appears from the records of parliament, that this monarch, at his accession to the crown, was possessed of very extensive domains in almost every county in the kingdomⁿ. But his expences exceeded his income. Much money was wasted in building ships of war larger than was usual, or indeed necessary, at that time, and in constructing palaces magnificent beyond the resources of so narrow a country. He was thence led to exercise his feudal prerogatives with unusual rigour^o; and

¹ Maitland, vol. ii. p. 728.

^m 2 Jac. IV. cap. 9. *anno* 1489.

ⁿ Black acts, *anno* 1489 and 1490.

^o See Maitland, vol. ii. p. 337.

it is probable that he would have imitated the severe, though legal, system of exaction practised by his contemporary monarch, and near relation, Henry VII. of England, had not his death at the fatal battle of Flowden intervened and prevented such an attempt. It is singular, that he had proposed undertaking a journey to Syria, not from religious motives, but with views similar to those who now pass from this country to the continent; namely, to diminish their expences; or, in the elegant words of Buchanan, "*ut immanem illum luxum, quem nec sustinere sine pernicie nec omittere posse salvo pudore videbatur, per absentiam imminuere assuesceret*".

During the long minority of James V. (who James V. succeeded to the crown when scarcely two years of age) the royal property and income were so much wasted or embezzled by those who governed the kingdom, that when he came of age he found himself immersed in the greatest difficulties. Even the royal palaces were stripped of their furniture, and hastening to ruin: nor was there any money remaining in the exchequer¹. It became necessary therefore, to fall upon some expedient for procuring wealth and adding to the revenue. For that purpose, James had but one alternative, either to attack the clergy or the nobles, since they engrossed between them the whole riches of the country: and as each party extolled the wealth and ability of

¹ Lib. xiii. cap. 23.

² Buchan. lib. x. cap. 62.

the other, the king listened to each alternately, and probably intended to enrich himself by pillaging both. The clergy, in order to avert the storm, and to prevent an interview between James and his uncle Henry VIII. of England, which they naturally apprehended would prove fatal to their interests, agreed to offer the king a considerable present, besides an annual donative of 50,000 crowns; and they also represented, that 100,000 crowns a year might be drawn into the exchequer, by confiscating the property and estates of those who were attached to the principles of reformation^r. The nobles, on the other hand, held forth the example of Henry VIII. who had enriched himself by pillaging the clergy, as an example worthy of imitation. The death of James, which happened soon after, freed both parties from apprehensions which were far from being ill-founded.

Considerable quantities of gold ore were found about this time, at Crawford Moor in Clydesdale; and miners from Germany were employed to dig for and collect it. And when James, *anno* 1537, was married at Paris to the daughter of Francis I. mention is made of a number of covered cups filled with pieces of gold dust, the native produce of Scotland, which that monarch distributed among the guests who were present at the nuptial ceremony^s.

^r Guthrie, vol. v. p. 186.

^s Mairland, vol. ii. p. 827. Guthrie, vol. v. p. 165.

Among the various curious and important events *Mary*, which distinguish the reign of *Mary*, a plan attempted to be enforced by the queen regent, her mother, during her minority, of imposing a permanent tax upon land, and maintaining a standing army, is not the least remarkable. The greater nobles had so far degenerated from the spirit of their ancestors, and dreaded so much the resentment of the court, that in a general assembly of bishops, earls, abbots, and lords, who called themselves lords of the secret council, the plan was approved of; but the lesser barons were not so timid. About 300 of them assembled in a body, and represented to the regent, by deputies whom they had chosen for that purpose, the disgrace, the impolicy, and the injustice of such an idea. The celebrated Buchanan, in relating this transaction, has put every argument that has since been urged against standing armies and mercenary forces in the mouths of the commissioners; and the regent, perceiving how generally obnoxious it had proved, reluctantly though prudently abandoned it¹.

In no country in Europe had the Roman clergy accumulated a greater proportion of the wealth of the nation than in Scotland. One half of the landed property of the kingdom was in their possession; and they bore two fifths of the public charges when any taxes were imposed². In the reign of *Mary*

¹ Buchan. lib. xvi. cap. 8. Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 130.

² Robertson, vol. i. p. 121 and 124.

their exorbitant treasures were for the first time materially encroached upon. It was at a period when the crown was reduced to the greatest difficulties to defray the public expences, and in particular, to provide for the maintenance of the protestant ministers, who enjoyed as yet no certain means of subsistence. The whole of the ecclesiastical revenues in Scotland at that time amounted to £.217,473: 13: 10½ Scotch, of which the third, or £.72,491: 6: 7½ was appropriated to these public purposes*. Mary unwillingly consented to the proposal; and her attachment to the religious and political principles of the court of Rome being well known, notwithstanding her countenancing so obnoxious a measure, she received not long after, a papal subsidy of 8,000 crowns†.

During this reign, many odious modes of raising money were adopted. Some towns, suspected of disaffection to the queen, were fined, and heavy taxes were levied on the boroughs in general. An attempt was made to compel the citizens of Edinburgh to lend money to the crown; but they resisted so unprecedented an exaction, until sufficient security was given for the sum that was borrowed‡.

James VI. At the accession of James VI. the public treasury was so much exhausted, that it could not furnish the money necessary to equip some vessels for attacking the infamous earl of Bothwell, who had

* Maidand, vol. i. p. 243.

† Anno 1565. Buchan. lib. 17. p. 281.

‡ Robertson, vol. i. p. 293.

taken shelter in the Orkneys, where he subsisted by piracy; and he might have remained in the undisturbed possession of those islands for some time, had not James Douglas, earl of Morton, defrayed the charges required for so necessary an armament^a.

The minority of this monarch, particularly whilst Morton acted as regent, was attended, as has too commonly been the case, under such administrations, with much public oppression. Exorbitant fines were exacted for very trivial offences. New and unheard of taxes were imposed; and every artifice of finance known at that time in Scotland, or practised in other countries, was adopted, that could squeeze money from the people. What rendered such a system of extortion more particularly unpopular was, that the sums thus accumulated, instead of being applied to the public service, were seized upon for the private purposes of the regent, and absorbed by those who were in power^b.

James consequently found his affairs involved in confusion when he took the reins of government into his own hands. He thankfully accepted, therefore, of an annual pension of £5,000 sterling *per annum*, offered him by Elizabeth, which, it is said, he had some claim to, as an equivalent for the English estate which had belonged to his grandmother, lady Lenox^c. And though fond of the splendour of the hierarchy, yet he was prevailed upon to give his assent to an act by which the

^a Buchanan, lib. xix. cap. 2.

^b Robertson, vol. ii. p. 44.

^c Maidland, vol. ii. p. 185.

whole landed possessions of the church were annexed to the crown⁴. But this important resource was rendered of little avail from the profuseness of James to his favourites, and in consequence of all former grants having at the same time been confirmed.

The year 1597 was distinguished by the greatest tax that had ever been levied in Scotland⁵. The sum of 200,000 marks was raised for the purpose of sending ambassadors to foreign courts, in order to obtain the assistance of the different powers on the continent, should it be necessary, to insure James's succession to the English crown: of which 100,000 marks were to be paid from the ancient property of the church; 66,666 marks 8 shillings 10 pennies by the barons and freeholders; and 33,333 marks 4 shillings and 6 pennies by the boroughs. In the act it was specially provided, that the money should be received by certain parliamentary commissioners, and "that this present taxation be no wayes employed, bot to the furnishing of the saids embassadours⁶." Another tax was afterwards granted, *anno* 1621, to continue for the space of four years, of thirty shillings yearly, on every pound land of old extent, and of the twentieth penny of all interest due on bonds, bills, and other securities⁷. These were the only parliamentary taxes during this reign.

⁴ 11 Jac. VI. cap. 29.

⁵ Maitland, p. 1290.

⁶ Scotch acts. 1597, N^o 281.

⁷ 21 Jac. VI. cap. 2 and 3.

Among

Among the plans attempted by James with views of an economical nature, and in hopes of making his income and expences tally with each other, was the appointment of eight commissioners, who, from their number, were called *Offavians*, for the management of his finances. The absolute disposal of the public money was vested in them. Nor did the king reserve to himself the power of making any grant, or disposing of any part of his income without their consent. By the efforts of these commissioners, good order and economy were established in the revenue department; but their administration was of short duration. Finding themselves unable to supply the queen's expences, they resigned their employments, after having had only time to prove the services to the public which they might have performed had they been continued^a.

Amidst the various objects of James's government, he did not neglect the cultivation of the northern parts, or highlands of Scotland. By an act passed *anno* 1597, three royal boroughs were to be there erected, one in Kintore, another in Lochaber, and a third in the Lewes; and power was given to his majesty to grant as much land of the annexed property of the crown as might serve to build the said towns, and would yield a revenue, or, as it is called in the act, *a common good*, for

^a Robertson, vol. ii. p. 191 and 205. Guthrie, vol. viii. p. 330 and 341. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 1263.

sustaining the public charges.¹ It also appears, that James and his son had jointly given the sum of 50,000 marks, or £.33,333 : 6 : 8 Scotch, for the purpose of building a bridge over the river Tay, at Perth², an undertaking accounted of the greatest importance to the northern part of the island.

Charles I.

There is an account extant of the revenue of the crown of Scotland, in the reign of Charles I¹. But the real value of the income it is impossible to ascertain, on account of the variety of articles of which it consists; for it contains not only the money received, but also the wheat, bear, malt, oats, oatmeal, mutton, capons, poultry, cunnings (rabbits),³ doves, onions, geese, salmon, herrings, butter, kids, martins, stirks, &c. paid to the crown. From the same manuscript it appears, that *anno* 1634 the pensions and gifts on the Scotch establishment amounted to the following sum :

Pensions payable in money	—	£.302,859 Scotch.
275 Chaldrons of victual converted into		32,300
	Total	<u>£.335,159</u>

There were also other considerable burdens; and the whole was so heavy a load, that his Scottish

¹ 15 Jac. VI. N^o 267.

² See a MS. in the advocates' library, intitled, King and Church rents and tax rolls.

³ See MS. above mentioned, containing an account of the king's rents and casualties, *anno* 1628 and 1629.

ministers

ministers recommended to Charles, either to enforce the act that had been made for the resumption of the crown lands, or to practise more economy.

The principal branch of the revenue of the crown at this time was the customs, which were let to farm, and produced, *anno* 1628, the sum of £.133,666 : 13 Scotch money; of which £.74,666 : 13 Scotch was paid upon the import of wines; and £.59,000 on all other goods brought into the kingdom.

There was but one parliamentary tax during this reign. It was granted *anno* 1633: by it thirty shillings Scotch were imposed upon every pound land of old extent; and the sixteenth penny of all interest was given to the crown for the space of six years^m; but it is not known what sum it produced.

The subjugation of Scotland by the arms of Cromwell is an event well known to every person in the least conversant with the history of that country; and the nation soon experienced the rigours and grievous burdens of a military government. Before the usurpation, it is probable that the income of Scotland could not exceed £.40,000 sterling *per annum*: whereas after that event took place, the following sums were annually exacted:

The Commonwealth.

^m 1 Car. I, N^o 1 and 2.

INCOME of SCOTLAND, as laid before Parliament, 7th April 1659.

	Sterling.
By Assessments of £.6,000 a month	- £. 72,000 0 0
By the income of the property of the crown, and the rents annually paid into the Exchequer	- 5,324 18 5½
By casualties and uncertain rents	- 576 3 5
By composition of signatures	- 929 6 0
By customs, inward and outward, and excise of goods imported	- 12,500 0 0
By the duty on sea coal	- 2,216 5 4
By salt duties	- 1,674 9 5
Excise on beer, ale, and aqua-vitæ	- 47,444 13 4
Forfeiture of smuggled goods	- 595 10 11½
Interest of money appropriated for the augmentation of the judges' salaries	- 391 5 0
Total	143,652 11 11

The expences of Scotland at that time were as follows:

	Sterling.
To the army	- £. 270,643 4 2
Salaries of the council and other officers	- 9,410 11 0
Contingent charges of the council	- 350 0 0
Salaries to the court of exchequer	- 1,833 4 2
Contingent charges of the Exchequer	- 80 10 2½
Salaries to the courts of justice	- 4,246 4 0
Contingent charges of the courts of justice	- 485 12 0
To the commissioners of excise and customs	- 4,177 9 6
Their contingent expences	- 771 9 4
Salaries to the court of Admiralty	- 304 8 8
Its contingent expences	- 167 14 1
Charges of an hospital	- 587 10 6
Fire and candles to the army	- 5,297 19 4
Pensions and other temporary contingencies	- 8,915 15 9
Carry over	£. 307,271 12 8½

	Sterling.
Brought forward	£.307,271 12 8½
The revenues of Scotland came <i>per annum</i> to	143,652 11 11
<hr/>	
The balance consequently was	- £.163,619 0 9½

Thus it appears that Scotland, under a military and despotic government, instead of yielding a revenue adequate to its expences, was every year considerably deficient.

At the restoration, the same spirit of loyalty ^{Charles II.} which was carried to such an extreme in England, extended its influence to the remotest corners of the two kingdoms; and Scotland gave every evidence of a warm attachment to its new sovereign, that its impoverished circumstances could admit. For in the first parliament which Charles II. assembled, acts were passed, by which, besides the ordinary crown revenues, £.480,000 Scotch, or £.40,000 sterling, were granted during the king's life, partly to be levied by duties upon the importation of foreign commodities, and partly by monthly rates upon the different towns and counties in the kingdom*. In addition to this annuity, the states were prevailed upon, by an act of convention passed *anno* 1665, to impose a tax of forty shillings yearly, for the space of five years, upon every pound land of old extent belonging to the temporality, and in the same proportion upon the lands belonging to the church, and the different boroughs

* Commons Journals of England, vol. vii. p. 628.

* 1 Car. II. cap. 2. 13, 14.; and 3 Car. II. cap. 25; also 15 December 1659.

in the kingdom. This tax was granted in order to assist the crown in the prosecution of the war against the Dutch^p.

The remaining sums levied in Scotland during the reign of this monarch, in addition to the ordinary revenue of the crown, were as follows:

			Scotch Money.
By act 1667	—	—	£.864,000
Do. 1670	—	—	360,000
Do. 1672	—	—	864,000
Do. 1678	—	—	1,800,000
Do. 1681	—	—	1,800,000
		Total	<u>£.5,688,000</u>

making in all £.474,000 sterling. The last grant was not to commence until the 11th November 1683; and it was to be paid by instalments, at the rate of £360,000 Scotch *per annum*, in the space of five years; but little of it could have been received before this monarch's decease, which happened in the month of February 1684.

Tax on the
interest of
money.

It may be proper here to give some account of the regulations enacted in Scotland, for the purpose of raising a revenue from the interest of money, which is justly considered as one of the greatest desiderata in finance. The first instance to be met with in our history is in the reign of James VI. By an act already taken notice of, the twentieth penny of all interest on money due or payable to

^p Scotch acts, vol. ii. p. 579.

any person within the kingdom (the interest due by them to others being first deducted) was granted to the crown; and it was ordained, that every individual of that description, should appear before the sheriffs and other officers in each different district, and should give in to the clerk of the court, an inventory of the sums of money for which interest was due to them, together with the names of the debtors; as also the names of their own creditors, and the annual interest which such creditors received; which inventories it was declared should be a ground for charging each person with his proportion of the tax. Informers were to be rewarded with one half of the amount of the frauds which they discovered; and such creditors as attempted to get relief from their debtors, were made liable to the penalties of usury¹. By another act passed in the reign of Charles I. a duty of the sixteenth penny of the interest of money was granted for six years²; nor was this all; for legal interest then amounting to 10 *per cent.* it was thought fully able to bear a still heavier burden; and accordingly it was enacted, that for the space of three years (besides the sixteenth penny) two out of the said 10 *per cent.* payable by debtors, should be paid to the crown³. By another act passed *anno* 1690⁴, the sixth part of all free interest due and payable in the kingdom was granted for one year; but it was found necessary that very year to repeal the statute,

¹ 23 Jac. VI. cap. 2.² 1 Car. I. cap. 1.³ 1 Car. I. cap. 21.⁴ Cap. 10.

on the ground that such a tax would occasion great difficulty both in the manner in which the same ought to be collected, and in the mode of ascertaining what free interest was due; and if persisted in, would not only be highly inconvenient to his Majesty's subjects, but prove ineffectual for the purpose for which it was intended, namely, that of raising a revenue".

Thus the attempt made in Scotland, to impose a share of the public burdens upon personal property, was abandoned. To compel every one to give in a list of his debtors and creditors, was unquestionably too rigorous a mode of proceeding, and not to be tolerated in a free, and was dangerous in a commercial country. But it was imagined, that if creditors gave in only a general account of the balance of interest they received, the tax would not be very productive. Means have of late been invented, by imposing stamp duties upon bonds, bills, and receipts for money, to draw no inconsiderable income from personal property; and that system can hardly be extended, unless by increasing the duty upon receipts in proportion to the sum paid; or by registering all mortgages, giving them the preference in the order in which they are recorded, and exacting one *per cent.* from the creditor for the additional security which, in consequence of such a regulation, he would obtain.

An attempt was also made to tax personal property in an indirect manner. When a land tax of

▪ Act 10th September 1690.

£.364,000

£.864,000 Scotch, was granted to the crown, *anno* 1673, it was enacted, that every debtor in the kingdom should retain, during the continuance of the tax, one sixth part of the interest he owed². The object was, to ease the landed interest, and make money bear some share of the burdens of the public. It is singular that such a regulation, couched in the very same terms, should be continued in every land tax act, to the present hour, in so far at least as relates to that part of Great Britain called Scotland. There cannot be a stronger proof of the inattention that is paid to the wording of our acts of parliament. If the relief of the landed interest of Scotland is intended, the debtor should be suffered to retain not a sixth part of every *six per cent. per annum*, but a fifth part of five. This annual legislative mistake may be thus accounted for: *six per cent.* was the legal interest of money at the union, and for some time after. The words of the annual land-tax bill were therefore right, when such a bill was originally passed; but it is not a little ridiculous, that they should have ever since remained unaltered³.

During this reign, the infamous practice of ^{Quartering} quartering soldiers in the houses of those who were ^{of soldiers.}

² 3 Car. II. cap. 4.

³ The idea however was not a bad one; and it may some time or other be worth considering, whether there might not be an additional land-tax of 1s. in the pound, and the interest of money at the same time reduced to 4 *per cent.* by way of compensation to the landed gentlemen.

deficient

deficient in the regular payment of their taxes, was too frequently enforced. This military mode of levying money first took place *anno* 1649, during the grand rebellion. It was re-enacted *anno* 1661, after the restoration^{*}: and in the annual land-tax bill there is a clause, by which all former acts of parliament of Scotland, in relation to the bringing in of the supply, and touching quartering of soldiers, and riding money, are declared to remain in full force, as if they had been specially expressed. It is hoped that in future such a clause will not be suffered to disgrace the statute-book. Such a barbarous, tyrannical, and despotic mode of levying money ought no longer to be legalised, or tolerated in a country that boasts of its liberty, and disclaims the idea of a perpetual standing army. Nor should any difference in the mode of collecting the taxes in the two countries, be admitted; more especially as the other means of compulsion with which the officers of the revenue in Scotland are entrusted, are fully adequate, with a very moderate share of perseverance and attention.

James VII. By an act passed *anno* 1685, eight months' cess, as it was called, payable half yearly, amounting to £.576,000 Scotch, or £.48,000 sterling, was granted by parliament during the king's life: the continuance of which, in the pompous words of the act passed upon the occasion, "was the greatest of their earthly wishes, and the chief of their temporal felicity and glory^{*}." But adulation to

^{*} Cap. xiv.

^{*} Scotch Acts, vol. iii. p. 9.
the

the crown was the common cant of the times: the English parliament were not ashamed of making their humble and thankful acknowledgments to his majesty for his tender and favourable regard to his commons. Lulled asleep by such insidious expressions of loyalty, the only ones a tyrant can expect, this unfortunate and bigoted prince was the less prepared to resist the successful enterprise of his opponent and successor^b.

No

^b Mr. Antony Barclay sent to the author, in October 1790, a manuscript with the following title to it:

An account of his Majesty's proper rents, arising from the feu and blench duties of the several lands holden feu and blench of his Majesty, in his kingdom of Scotland; with the deductions, alterations and differences betwixt the present rental, and the former preceding king James of blessed memory, his going into England in *anno* 1602. Extracted out of the Rolls and Registers be Sir William Purves, his Majesties Solicitor in *anno* 1681.

This work is drawn up in the usual hypocritical, monarchical cant of those times, when all the officers of the crown endeavoured to exalt the prerogative as much as possible, and contended with one another, who should most strictly maintain this principle:

“Arbor honoretur, cujus nos umbra tuetur.”

It appears however from this manuscript, how much the income of the crown of Scotland had been diminished, by the rapacity of courtiers, and the treachery of the servants of the crown. There is in this work an account of the rents paid in the different counties, with some observations respecting the deductions therefrom, by which it appears, that it was not unusual for the crown to give to its favourites large estates, for payment of very moderate feu duties, which were not paid, small as they were. It is not improbable, that the strict enquiry
made

William III. No country whatever could exert itself with more spirit and vigour in defence of its liberties and legal rights, than Scotland did at the era of the revolution. Whilst the English parliament were disputing in what terms they should express the vacancy of the crown; and at last only declared, that James had *abdicated* the government, and consequently that the throne was vacant, the representatives of the Scottish nation nobly asserted, that their late monarch having invaded the fundamental constitution of the kingdom; having altered it from a legal and limited monarchy, to an arbitrary and despotic power; having subverted the protestant religion, and violated the laws and liberties of the nation, had thereby overturned the foundations of government, and *forfeited* all right to the crown.

Land-taxes. Nor was it in words only that their attachment to the new government appeared; of which the following sums levied upon the land are no contemptible evidence.

Land-tax by Act	27th April	1689	£.288,000	0	0
Ditto	7th July	1690	2,019,733	6	8
Ditto	10th September	1690	216,000	0	0
Ditto	4th May	1693	756,000	0	0

Carry over £.3,279,733 6 8

made about this time, into the revenues of the crown, ripened that disaffection, which occasioned the revolution in Scotland some years afterwards.

It appears from this book, that had the ancient patrimony of the crown, remained entire to these times, the revenue would have been very considerable.

		Brought forward	£.3,279,733	6	8
Land-tax by Act	20th June	1695	432,000	0	0
Ditto	16th July	1695	216,000	0	0
Ditto	25th September	1696	1,296,000	0	0
Ditto	30th July	1698	1,152,000	0	0
Ditto	31st January	1701	864,000	0	0
			<hr/>		
			£.7,239,733	6	8

In sterling money this amounted to the sum of £.603,311 : 2 : 2½.

Other supplies also were granted for public purposes. Three different acts were passed, imposing a poll duty in different proportions, according to the rank or riches of each individual^c. Having already given a view of the poll money levied in England, during the reign of William, it may not be improper to give a statement of the rates imposed in Scotland, that the difference between the two countries in regard to taxation, whilst they had distinct legislatures, may be clearly perceived.

VIEW of the RATES of POLL MONEY, in Act 30th August 1698.

	Scotch Money.	In Sterling.
1. Merchants, tradesmen, &c. worth from 1 to 5,000 marks Scotch, or from £.55 : 11 : 1 to £.277 : 15 : 5½ sterling	- £.2 10 0	0 4 2
2. Ditto worth from 5 to 10,000 marks, or from £.277 : 15 : 5½ to £.555 : 10 : 11 sterling	- 4 0 0	0 6 8
3. Ditto above 10,000 marks	10 0 0	0 16 8

^c The Acts were dated 29th May 1693 ; 27th June 1695 ; and 30th June 1698.

		Scotch Money.	In Sterling.
4. Merchants, tradesmen, &c.			
worth above 20,000 marks, or			
£.1,111 : 1 : 10 sterling	-	15 0 0	1 5 0
5. Do. worth above 30,000 marks,			
or £.1,666 : 12 : 9 sterling	-	20 0 0	1 16 8
6. Do. worth 40,000 marks, or			
£.2,222 : 3 : 8 sterling	-	24 0 0	2 0 0
7. Knights	-	24 0 0	2 0 0
8. Lords	-	40 0 0	3 6 8
9. Viscounts	-	50 0 0	4 3 4
10. Earls	-	60 0 0	5 0 0
11. Marquises	-	80 0 0	6 13 4
12. Dukes	-	100 0 0	8 6 8 ^d

The rates imposed in England at the very same time were very different. The peers of the realm, spiritual and temporal, being charged by the English acts £.40 each; and attornies, proctors, &c. £.4 *per annum*: whereas by the Scotch acts, no peer paid more than £.8 : 6 : 8, and attornies were only liable to £.12 Scotch, or £.1 sterling: nay, writers, not belonging to the signet, were charged but £.6 Scotch, or 10s. sterling^e.

Poll taxes succeeded as ill in Scotland as they did in England; and there is a curious proclamation extant, which was afterwards ratified by parliament,

^d See Act 30 June 1698, which, being the last, is probably the most perfect.

^e By the act, however, which imposes a tax upon attornies (25 Geo. III. cap. 80.) no distinction in point of rate is made between those of London and Edinburgh; nor between those who reside in other parts of England and Scotland; a proof that Scotland was taxed proportionably less, when it was a separate kingdom.

in which it is asserted that the greater part of the poll money granted by act 1695, remained unpaid in August 1696, notwithstanding all the diligence that had hitherto been used to collect it¹.

The only remaining circumstance connected with ^{Hearth-money.} the present subject, at all necessary to be taken notice of during this reign, was the enactment of the duty of hearth-money in Scotland, which the English parliament had a little before so strongly reprobated. But it was necessary to raise a sum in lieu of the tax on the interest of money; the inconveniencies of which were considered to be very great: and in part of the sum thereby deficient, a tax of fourteen shillings Scotch, or 1*s.* 2*d.* sterling, was imposed on every hearth within the kingdom (the hearths of the hospitals, and of the poor supported by parochial charity, always excepted), to be paid by the inhabitants of the houses where such hearths were; and where houses were uninhabited, to be paid by the proprietor².

The reign of Queen Anne forms the most im-^{Q. Anne.} portant era in the history of Scotland. It was distinguished by an event almost unparalleled in the history of mankind; namely, an incorporating union of two jealous and independent nations, who had long lived at variance with each other, were attached to laws in many respects different, and to opposite systems of ecclesiastical government; nor by force of arms, but by solemn compact. The

¹ Act 16th October 1696.

² Act 10th September 1690.

preceding part of the history of Scotland contains little else but an account of the means pursued by that country to defend itself against the ambitious views of its English neighbours. It had often preserved itself with difficulty; and the struggle between the two nations kept both in a state of perpetual turbulence and inquietude; checked their progress to prosperity and wealth; and, whilst it diminished their mutual importance and felicity, proportionably contributed to add to the power and consequence of other states. The crowns, it is true, had been united in the person of James I. of England (known in Scotland under the name of James VI.), and both nations continued to acknowledge the sovereignty of the same monarch, in the person of Queen Anne: but it was doubtful whether the parliaments of the two countries would agree in the nomination of the same person for a successor; and hence all the miserable consequences of a separation and hostility were again apprehended. Fortunately, in addition to other considerations, the victories of the renowned Marlborough gave such weight and lustre to the government of England, and stamped such a thorough conviction of its power and wealth, as well as of the valour and abilities of its people, on the minds of its neighbours, that an union, though often on former occasions fruitlessly attempted, being sometimes objected to on the part of England, and at other times on that of Scotland, was at last happily brought to a conclusion.

The

The following sums were levied, by temporary taxes upon land, before that event took place.

		Scotch.	
By Act 19th June	1702	-	£.756,000 0 0
5th August	1704	-	432,000 0 0
11th September	1705	-	432,800 0 0
9th November	1706	-	577,066 13 4
			<hr/>
			£.2,197,866 13 4

Which in sterling amounts to £.183,155 : 11 : 1.

The revenue of Scotland at the Union consisted of the following branches, namely, the crown rents—the casualties of the feudal tenure—the customs—and excise on ale and beer—the post-office—coinage impositions—and occasionally a land-tax. Revenue at
the Union.

The crown rents produced, at an average, £.5,500 and the feudal casualties only £.3,000 more; so that the whole territorial and feudal revenue of Scotland yielded but £.8,500.

Duties on goods exported or imported may be traced to the remotest era of the history of Scotland; and, subject to the limitations of parliament as to the quantum to be exacted, were supposed to be a right inherent in the crown. Their produce in the reign of Charles I. amounted only to £.11,138 : 16 : 8 sterling: but at the Union, in consequence of a more extensive commerce, and of additional duties, that branch of the revenue had considerably increased. Before the war of 1702, it had been let in farm, (for that was the mode of collecting the revenue which then existed in Scotland),

for £.34,000 sterling. During the war it only yielded £.28,500 but, it was supposed, was worth at least £.30,000 a-year.

The excise on ale and beer was first introduced into Scotland, as it was in England, during the usurpation. After the restoration, it was granted for King Charles's life, and for five years longer: and as a proof of the national affection to James VII. it was by an act passed for that special purpose, for ever annexed to the crown^a. This tax was also farmed at the Union, and yielded £.33,500.

The post-office did not exist as a branch of the revenue, until the reign of William III. At the Union it was farmed for £.1,194 *per annum*. The rates paid for the carriage of letters were as follows: A single letter to any place within 50 miles of Edinburgh, paid 2*d*. sterling; to any place within a hundred miles, 3*d*.; and to all places in Scotland above 100 miles, 4*d*¹. The epistolary correspondence of that country must have been very small indeed, when even these rates, which remained unaltered until the year 1784, proved so very unproductive.

Certain impositions to defray the expence of coining money, yielded about £.1,500 *per annum*.

The only remaining branch of the revenue of Scotland, was the land-tax. It was then usually imposed at the rate of £.36,000 a-year: but, in order that Scotland, in regard to its wealth and

^a Act 28th April 1685.

¹ Act 5th July 1695, No. 20.
income,

income, might pay exactly in the same proportion with England, it was agreed, that £.48,000 should be raised upon the land of Scotland, when four shillings in the pound, or £.1,997,763 : 8 : 4½ was laid upon that of England.

The following was then the real state of the income of Scotland, at the Union :

1. Crown rents	—	—	£.5,500
2. Feudal casualties	—	—	3,000
3. The customs	—	—	30,000
4. The excise	—	—	33,500
5. The post-office	—	—	1,194
6. Coinage impositions	—	—	1,500
7. The land-tax	—	—	36,000
Total			£.110,694

Such was the revenue of Scotland at that time. To put both nations on an equal footing, it was agreed that £.12,000 of additional land-tax should be levied in Scotland; and it was stated by the Scotch commissioners, that when peace was concluded, the customs would probably yield £.20,000, the excise, if properly collected, £.16,500, and the post-office £.806 *per annum*, in addition to their former produce, making in all £.160,000; but the actual revenue at the Union, free of all charges, was only £.110,694. The debts of Scotland, however, were proportionably inconsiderable, being only about £.160,000*.

The

* By the treaty of Union, the current coin of the united kingdoms was to be according to the English standard. It became

The principal difficulties which occurred in adjusting the treaty of Union, were in regard to the succession to the crown; to the number of representatives which Scotland was to have in the British parliament; to the proportion which each nation was to pay into the common exchequer; and to the equivalent that Scotland was to receive for subjecting itself to the burdens and debts of England. The two first, however, were arranged without any material dispute: but when the English commissioners demanded, that the same duties of customs and excise and other taxes, should take place throughout the united kingdom of Great Britain, the Scotch commissioners objected to the proposal; and had not the queen in person interfered upon the occasion, and exerted herself with unusual earnestness to have the difficulty obviated, it is probable that the treaty would have been broken off¹. But it was at last settled, that all parts of the united kingdom should be liable to the same

came necessary therefore to recoin the specie of Scotland, which then consisted of the following particulars:

ACCOUNT of the SPECIE of SCOTLAND at the UNION.

In foreign silver coin	—	£.132,080 17 0
In Scottish milled money	—	968,56 13 9
In Scottish hammered money	—	142,180 0 0
In English milled money	—	40,000 0 0

Total £.411,117 10 9

See Maitland's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 241.

¹ Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. x. p. 339.

duties

duties on exports and imports; that the excise on liquors, and the duty on salt, should be *nearly* the same in both countries; that when four shillings in the pound were imposed upon land in England, £.48,000 free of all charges, should be paid in Scotland; and that Scotland should be exempted from the payment of several duties upon paper, vellum, parchment, coals, culm, and malt, to which the English were liable by several acts then nearly expiring; at the expiration of which, however, the parliament of Great Britain was impowered to extend the said burdens to North Britain, if it should be necessary for the preservation and advantage of the two nations; but with a general pledge and declaration, that *due regard would always be paid to the circumstances and abilities of every part of the united kingdom*^m.

By the 15th article of the treaty of Union, the equivalent that Scotland was to receive for such branches of the customs and excise levied in that country, as were appropriated to pay off the debts of England, contracted previously to the Union, was fixed at £.398,085 : 10 : 0. It was specially provided, however, by the said article, that any addition to the customs and excise, beyond the sum of £.63,500 *per annum*, should either be dedicated to public purposes in Scotland, or that an additional equivalent should be paid to that country, in proportion to the increase of those branches of the re-

^m Art. xiv.

venue; at least in so far as they are applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by England before the two nations were incorporated together*. It has been asserted, that the customs of England were over-rated, in order to render the equivalent as little as possible. There is reason to believe that large quantities of goods were, before Midsummer 1706, brought to England, and afterwards carried to Scotland, in order to get the drawback, and were fraudulently re-imported into England after the Union, duty free°.

The progress of the revenue of Scotland being included, since the Union, in that of England, does not require any particular illustration. But the reader may be desirous of knowing what income is now drawn from North Britain; and will not probably object to some observations tending to point out the advantages which have arisen from the union that has so happily taken place betwixt the two countries; advantages which were ridiculed or disbelieved by many when the treaty was originally concluded. Indeed the most dreadful apprehensions

* But by 5 Geo. I. cap. 20. all claims for farther equivalents are discharged, in consideration of £.10,600 *per annum* to be paid to the public creditors of Scotland, and £.2,000 *per annum*, for encouraging manufactures and improvements in that part of the united kingdom.

° History of our National Debts, Part ii. p. 77. Also Chandler's Comm. Debates, vol. iv. p. 69. A bill was brought in to prevent such goods from being re-imported into England; but it was dropt, it being apprehended that such a law would give offence to Scotland.—Ditto.

were

were entertained by some of the Scottish patriots of the misery and distress, which the heavy taxes England was then subject to, would occasion; and it was asserted, that Scotland was unable to bear more than it then paid, and that any addition would prove ruinous to its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. The contrary, however, has proved to be the fact. At the same time it can hardly be doubted, if no additional taxes had been imposed, that the circumstances of that part of the island would have been still more flourishing.

The revenue of Scotland, as it is now paid, may be considered under two heads. First, The hereditary or private property of the crown. Secondly, The public income of the country.

There are various branches of the public revenue of Scotland to which the crown lays claim as its hereditary and private property, more especially,—certain crown rents and feudal casualties—the rents of certain lands formerly possessed by the bishops in Scotland—the new subsidy of the customs—a share of the seizures made by custom-house officers—a share of the fines and forfeitures in the excise—the hereditary and temporary excise—some coinage duties—together with the produce of certain royal prerogatives¹.

¹ In this investigation into the private property of the crown, much assistance was received from a manuscript, intitled "A Review of King George the Third's Revenue in Scotland," written about the year 1783, which accidentally fell into the author's hands.

Crown rents
and casual-
ties.

The remains of the landed property and feudal rights of the crown of Scotland produced in December 1711 the sum of £.7,055 : 2 : 7. By the negligence of the public officers intrusted with the care of that branch of the revenue, or by grants from the crown, it has since that period fallen off so much in produce, that, at present, it hardly yields the trifling residue of £.800 *per annum*¹.

Bishops
rents.

Upon the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, the crown was declared to be entitled to all the revenues possessed by the dignified clergy in that country². These revenues had been in former times very considerable, but a great proportion of them was embezzled at the reformation, and a part of them was afterwards granted by parliament for pious uses. There still remains about £.4,200 *per annum*, of which £.300 is directed to be paid to each of the three universities of St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh; £.400 is deducted by the

¹ This branch of the revenue in 1711, consisted of the following particulars:

Feu and blench duties	-	£.5,505	16	5
Rents on the shires, stewarties and regalities	-	163	17	3
Casual rents of ditto	-	917	1	9
Borough mails	-	75	15	9
Compositions on signatures and tacks of teinds	-	392	11	9

		7,055	2	9
The deductions at that time amounted to		3,713	14	1

Clear balance £.3,341 8 6

But the free residue at this time scarcely amounts even to £.800.

² By 1st William and Mary, cap. 29, dated 19th July 1690.
collector,

collector, so that the clear balance is very inconsiderable, and even that is in a great measure absorbed by ministers stipends, and various other donations of an ecclesiastical nature.

The latest account laid before parliament of both these sums was as follows:

AMOUNT of Crown Rents and Casualties, and Bishops Rents in Scotland for the year 1797.

1. Crown Rents and casualties	-	2,453	11	8
2. Rents of the Lordships of Dunbar and of Ettrick Forrest	-	515	3	7
3. Bishopric rents, and compositions on tacks of tythes	-	1,055	18	2
		<hr/>		
		£.4,024	13	5

The *precepts*, as they are called, of the barons of the exchequer in Scotland, on these funds, amounted to no less a sum than £.4,827 : 19 : 9, and consequently to £.803 : 6 : 1 more than the income received. But it is stated that the Receiver General had, at the end of the year 1796, a balance in hand, equivalent to that amount*.

The new subsidy of the customs is a tonnage and poundage duty, originally imposed in England alone, for the purposes of increasing the civil list revenues*, but extended to Scotland by the articles of the Union, which declared that the customs should be the same in both countries. The follow-

The new
subsidy of
the customs.

* See Reports of the Select Committee of 1798. Rep. 30. p. 113. (Appendix, A. 27. b.)

* See Report 30 in 1798. (Appendix A. 28. p. 116.)

ing

ing is the amount thereof for three years, according to the latest returns laid before the House.

ACCOUNT of the NEW SUBSIDY of the Customs in Scotland, for three Years, ending 10th October 1797.

	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Deductions.</i>			<i>Net Produce.</i>		
Year ending 10th Oct. 1795	24,740	14	4	9,513	3	0½	15,227	11	3½
1796	26,234	10	6½	8,941	6	5½	17,293	4	0½
1797	26,132	10	10½	7,592	18	7	18,539	12	3½
	77,107	15	8½	26,047	8	1½	51,060	7	7½
Average of the three Years	25,702	11	10½	8,682	9	4½	17,020	2	6½

But in the later accounts, this branch is included under the general head of customs.

Seizures by
custom-
house offi-
cers.

By various acts of parliament for imposing custom-house duties, and regulating trade, a certain proportion of the penalties and forfeitures arising from wrongs committed against the revenue, was appropriated both in Scotland and England to the sovereign and his successors. The impolicy of this measure became at last apparent. During the reign of George II. it is well known, that smuggling was in a great measure winked at, and even encouraged by government, with a view of rendering this branch of the civil list as productive as possible. At the accession of his present majesty the whole income of the crown, and this branch in particular, was assigned to the public in consideration of the sum of £.800,000 which was then settled on his present majesty during his life. It is contended, however,

however, that the act did not extend to Scotland, and consequently, that the produce of custom-house seizures, in so far as respects North Britain, still remains at the disposal of the crown.

The gross amount of this particular branch of the revenue has not been stated to parliament since the year 1788, when it stood as follows:

Gross produce	—	£.18,275	3	7
Net produce	—	16,503	18	6
King's share	—	9,294	8	11
Poundage and other expences		9,955	5	7½

Of late years the payments out of the king's share, have not exceeded £.2000 *per annum*.*

It is difficult to ascertain the annual amount of ^{Fines and forfeitures} the fines and forfeitures in the excise; because it is ^{in the ex-} not by the judgments obtained that an account is ^{cise.} rendered, but according as the fines, are, at distant periods, recovered, or paid in by the collectors, when their accounts are adjusted. This article has been rapidly decreasing for several years. At the accession of his present majesty it produced net, the sum of £.9,500.—It afterwards fell down to £.7,000 and notwithstanding the great increase of penal statutes, it is still diminishing.—The following is the last account of this branch that was laid before parliament:

* See Reports of the Select Committee on Finance, (Appendix, A 24.)

An ACCOUNT of the GROSS and NET PRODUCE of FINES and FORFEITURES of EXCISE in NORTH BRITAIN for the Year ending 5th July 1788.

Gross produce	—	£.9,812	4	3½
Charges attending the establishment of four yachts for the suppression of smuggling, &c.	—	4,415	14	7½
		<hr/>		
Balance		£.5,366	9	7

The net produce for five years preceding *anno* 1798, was only at the rate of £.4,000 *per annum*. This balance is applicable to the payment of pensions on his majesty's civil establishment, by warrants from the barons of the exchequer in Scotland.

Hereditary
and tempo-
rary excise.

By an act passed in the reign of James the seventh of Scotland, certain excises on inland and foreign commodities, of which temporary grants had been formerly given during the reign of Charles II. were finally united, annexed, and incorporated to the crown, "to remain therewith, in annexed property, in all time coming, to James the seventh, and his heirs and successors in the imperial crown of Scotland".—The produce of this branch of the revenue it is also contended remains at the disposal of the crown, and was not given up to the public at the accession of his present majesty.—The income which it produces may amount to about

* 1 James VII. ch. 21. 28th April 1685.

£.14,000

£.14,000 *per annum*. It is also included in the general accounts of the excise.

There were anciently taxes laid upon certain commodities for defraying the expence of a free coinage and other charges connected with the mint. ^{Coinage duties.} By an act passed *anno* 1686, these impositions were for ever annexed to the crown for these important purposes^{*}; and though every species of the money of Great Britain is now coined in England alone, yet by the articles of the Union, a mint, together with the officers connected with it, was expressly retained for Scotland, and must be continued in future, as a relic of its ancient independence[†]. The total expence of the mint as it now stands, is only £.1,200 *per annum*.

There are certain prerogatives annexed to the crown of Scotland; as a right to the vacant stipends of all livings in the royal gift or patronage; the fines imposed in the course of judicial proceedings; the effects of persons who die without any legal heirs to inherit their possessions; and confiscations and forfeitures of every kind; together with a right to certain mines, royal fish, prize goods, and other small casualties, which his majesty claims as superior, ^{Royal prerogatives.}

^{*} 2 Jac. VII. c. 24.

[†] See also 7 Anne, cap. 24. 9 Geo. I. c. 19. 27 Geo. II. c. 11. By 9 Geo. III. c. 25, the coinage duties are made perpetual. On the subject of the Scotch mint, see the Reports of the Select Committee of Finance, Nos. 23, 24, and 30. It is evident, that instead of abolishing the Scotch mint as there proposed, which would be inconsistent with the treaty of Union, money should be coined in Scotland.

or overlord, of the land in Scotland, and of the seas and rivers thereunto belonging. In former times, these rights were attended with lucrative advantages to the sovereign. But as their produce at present is very inconsiderable, and as in general it is disposed of by the barons of the exchequer, for charitable or public purposes, without any particular application to the crown, it is unnecessary to make any inquiry into their nature or their amount.

The various branches of the civil list revenues in England, having been paid into the public exchequer, since the accession of his present majesty, the reader will naturally inquire on what principle it was, that the same rule was not extended to Scotland. But by the original act, which appropriated a certain specific sum for the expences of the crown, it was specially provided, "That the
 "several respective duties and revenues which were
 "payable to his late majesty king George the second in Scotland, shall be continued, raised, levied
 "and paid from the demise of his late majesty
 "during the life of his present majesty in the same
 "manner only, and subject to the same or the like
 "charges thereon, as the same were liable or subject
 "to during the life of his said late majesty*." In consequence of this clause, the private property of the crown in Scotland, was accounted for in the exchequer, on the old footing, and was regularly applied for the maintenance of the civil establish-

* 1 Geo. III. cap. 1.

national objects amounted to £.58,016 : 5 : 3½ there was paid towards the support of his majesty's civil government in Scotland £.58,492 : 5 : 1½, and the balance principally remained in the hands of the Receiver General of the customs, or the collectors at the different ports.

The excise. The excise, including the duties on salt, the annual taxes on tobacco and malt, the hereditary and temporary excise; also the fines and forfeitures in that department, for the year ending 5th January 1804, produced the following sums:

Gross receipt of the excise duties for the year ending 5th January 1804	-	-	£.1,394,323 14 4
Repayments, allowances, &c.	-	£.89,633 17 9½	
Charges of management	-	125,079 6 11½	
			<u>214,713 4 9</u>
		Net produce	£.1,179,610 9 7
Bounties for fisheries, &c.	-	31,979 16 11½	
Civil government of Scotland	-	78,673 4 1½	
			<u>110,653 1 0½</u>
		Balance	£.1,068,957 8 6½

The sum remitted to the English exchequer, *anno* 1803, was £.1,086,000, being more than the above balance, but that was owing to bills remitted *anno* 1802, having been paid in 1803.

No

No branch of the revenue of Scotland has in-Stamp^d creased with more rapidity than the stamp duties. In the course of the year 1803, they produced in all £.194,275 : 18 : 2½, and after every deduction for charges of management and collection, yielded the net sum of £.180,470 into the English exchequer. For this branch of revenue, Scotland had formerly but little credit, because, till of late, it was consolidated with the produce of the English stamp duties, and in general stated in the lump. It is to be hoped, however, that for the purpose of avoiding such confusion in future, of doing justice to the revenue of North Britain, and of removing some of the grievances under which that part of the kingdom labours⁴, that a stamp office

⁴ In a memorial drawn up upon this subject, the grievances of the people of Scotland, arising from the want of a stamp office in that country, are thus shortly stated :

“ By the present mode of allowing paper to be stamped only at London, the manufacturers in Scotland are deprived of a considerable market for their paper, and have not the same *advantages* and *encouragements* with the people in England.

“ The paper brought from London is considerably dearer than what it could be got for in Scotland, and is frequently so bad as to be unfit either for writing or printing.

“ The gentlemen of the law, and other consumers of stamps, are subjected to various inconveniences by the present mode of not having paper stamped in Scotland.

“ The publishers of Newspapers in Edinburgh have not *four per cent.* discount, which is given in London, as a *compensation* for a valuable privilege, that has been lately taken away (the returning spoiled and unsold Newspapers for new stamps); and

office will be erected, in the capital of that country, without delay.

In favour of such an establishment it may be justly contended, that there are certain *rights* which Scotland can never relinquish, whilst it retains the smallest vestige of its ancient independence*. The crowns and the parliaments of the two countries, it is true, are incorporated, and consequently, in a *political sense*, the English and Scots are one and the same people; but in a religious, legal, or financial view, they are perfectly distinct, and Scotland is as well entitled as England, to different ecclesiastic establishments, independent courts of justice, and separate boards of revenue.

Insinuations have been thrown out, as if the expence of the proposed office was an insurmountable objection. The absurdity of such an idea need not be dwelt upon. It has been already stated, that the charges on this branch of the revenue, in so far as regards Scotland alone, amount to above £.11,000

although that privilege extended equally to Scotland and England, yet the *compensation*, it seems, extends only to the latter, and consequently the people of Scotland have not the same *allowance* as stipulated by the treaty of union.

“ Banks, Bankers, &c. are obliged to send their bills and bank notes to London to be stamped, to run the risk of their being lost, besides the expence of carriage, and to pay an agent at London to transact this business.”

* It is upon that idea that a mint is kept up in Scotland, though it is well known that no money is coined in that country.

per

per annum, which would be amply sufficient to defray the whole burden of the establishment. Separate boards were thought necessary at the union, for the excise and customs, though the one produced only at the rate of £.30,000, and the other of £.33,500 *per annum*; whereas the stamps now yielding above £.180,000 of net income, are infinitely more productive than both these branches at that period^f. Nor could the English justly complain of the expence of this new board, were the produce of our stamps even much less considerable than at present, since they themselves have a hackney coach office, to levy an income of about £.28,800 *per annum*, and a board for licensing hawkers and pedlars, whose whole revenue, for the year 1804, did not yield, net into the exchequer, above £.5630, whilst the very charges of collection amounted to £.3169. Besides, in Defoe's History of the Union, (Appendix, Part I.), there is an account of the transactions in both parts of the united kingdoms subsequent to the Union, in which various reasons are given for the establishment of separate boards of excise and customs in Scotland, which are equally applicable to stamps. This in itself, (as he justly

^f The first act which properly extended stamps to Scotland (9 Ann. cap. 23.) was only to continue for 32 years, from 1st August 1711. It was made perpetual by 3 Geo. 1. cap. 7. Had the stamps been made perpetual from the beginning, a Scotch stamp-office would probably have been erected; but a temporary duty producing little, was thought inadequate to the expence. The case, however, is now greatly altered.

contends) was a proper measure, “but, in consequence of the 18th and 19th articles of the Union, it became absolutely necessary.” For by these articles the laws of Scotland were to remain in the same force as before, and all the pleas of the crown were to be cognizable only in Scotland. The courts of session and justiciary were therefore continued. And by 6th Anne, cap. 26. a court of exchequer was erected for Scotland, and it was declared, “That the customs and excise, and all other revenues appertaining to the queen within Scotland, *either as queen of Great Britain, or as prince or steward of Scotland, &c.* and all the remedies for recovering the same, and all accounts relative thereto, and all penalties by force of any statute relating to the customs and excise, or by force of any other statutes; *and all fines, issues, forfeitures, and penalties, of what nature soever, arising within Scotland, &c.* shall be within the jurisdiction of the said court.”

It is evident, therefore, that the establishment of a separate stamp-office, is a matter of right, and indeed of necessity, which cannot be denied to Scotland. It is impossible, by the Union, to give the courts in Westminster a jurisdiction in North Britain, in regard to stamp duties; and equally impossible to put it in the power of the courts of justice in Scotland either to enforce the penalties, or to punish the forgeries, connected with that branch of the revenue, unless a stamp-office is erected, the officers of which are amenable to their jurisdiction.

jurisdiction. In fact, the whole revenue of stamps in Scotland, is at this moment either illegally exacted, or at least depends upon the voluntary disposition of those who are liable, there being no legal mode of enforcing the payment of the tax.

A curious circumstance occurs in the course of examining the statutes with regard to stamps. By 6 Ann. cap 5. sec. 4. certain stamp duties, originally imposed by another act, but continued by this statute, together with the tax on hawkers and pedlars, are to take place over the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and consequently in Scotland, at the end of ninety-six years after their commencement in 1710. This is the first stamp act which included in it the whole island, and shews how cautious government was in regard to the introduction of stamps into Scotland, when it was thought necessary to give the Scots a previous warning of so remote and distant a nature as ninety-six years; and even then the tax was only to continue *for one year*.

Of late, however, less ceremony has been used with Scotland: of which a stronger proof cannot be given, than an act passed *anno* 1789 (29 Geo. 3. cap. 50. sec. 12.), by which the sole jurisdiction of a variety of additional stamp duties on newspapers, advertisements, &c. extending throughout the whole kingdom of Great Britain, is given to the court of exchequer at Westminster alone: A palpable, but probably an unintentional infringement of the articles of the Union.

It is too often said that the Scotch are apt to claim the benefit of the Union, when it is in their favour, and to reject it when it is otherwise. But it is certain that where two parties are united together, the one superior in power and wealth to the other, that in all unforeseen or doubtful cases, the balance must be given to the weaker. That principle is expressly recognized, in the 14th article, under the general words, "That the parliament of Great Britain will never lay any sort of burden upon the united kingdom, but what they shall find of necessity at that time for the preservation and good of the whole, *and with due regard to the circumstances and abilities of every part of the united kingdom.*" Without such a preliminary, the Union between England and Scotland could never have been completed; far less can it be expected, unless that principle is publicly acknowledged, and uniformly acted upon, that the union which has now so happily taken place between Great Britain and Ireland, can be of long duration.

Incidents.

It seems unnecessary to enter into the particulars of the different branches known under the general head of Incidents; as the produce of each will be afterwards stated, and no particular observation occurs respecting them. It is impossible, however, not to remark, that the post office, which, at the union, only yielded £.1,194 *per annum*, now produces £.117,321 of gross, and £.137,950 of net income;

a striking proof of an astonishing increase in the commerce and opulence of the country.

The only taxes in which there exists any material difference between the two kingdoms are, the land tax remaining unredeemed, the annual and the permanent duties laid upon malt, and the tax on salt. These are advantages which some individuals in South Britain consider to be unfair and partial. After endeavouring to divest myself, as much as possible, of all partiality and prejudice in favor of either of the two kingdoms, for both of which I have every reason to entertain the highest predilection, it is impossible for me to agree to the justice of that observation. In regard to the land tax, it is ascertained by the articles of the union; nor could the proportion then established be changed, without shaking that solemn and important compact, which no pecuniary interest could justify^s. Besides, it is impossible to expect that remote districts, can afford to pay, at the same rate, with those which are situated in the neighbourhood of the capital. In the one case money is abundant, rents are punctually paid, and may be depended on with certainty; whereas in the distant provinces, the tenants are poor; the farms inconsiderable; the crops, from a wretched agriculture, in conse-

The taxes
on land and
malt, and
the salt tax.

^s The rental of England at the union, if the land-tax, then levied, was equal to a fifth part of the whole, was

The rental of Scotland, on the same data, was about

£.9,988,815

240,000

Total £.10,228,815

quence

quence of the want both of skill and of capital, too often defective; the produce of the farms, from a deficiency of demand and markets, often unfold, or obliged to be disposed of at an under-value; and when any misfortune occurs, in consequence of inclement and unfavourable seasons, the landlord, instead of receiving a rent, is often under the necessity of putting himself to considerable expence in nursing and supporting his tenants. In such circumstances, a land tax of two shillings in the pound is more felt, than even four shillings in a better situation. Indeed in all countries the justice of this principle is acknowledged; for the remote provinces of France, of Spain, of Denmark, of Sweden, &c. are taxed at a rate inferior to the centre of the kingdom. In regard to the malt tax, there was no express stipulation at the union; because it was never supposed that it would be extended to Scotland. The distinction between the two countries is therefore founded, not upon any positive compact between them, but upon the natural justice and equity of the case. In Scotland, the grain must ever be inferior to that of England. The climate of the former is not so well calculated as the latter, for producing corn of equal perfection. There is the difference of nearly a half in point of price and of real strength, between the beer or big of Scotland, and the barley of England^a; and it might

^a In 1790, when English barley fetched in the port of Leith 25s., the very best Scotch barley was worth about 3s. per quarter less, and so in proportion. But the greater quantity of

might as well be contended, if a tax were to be laid upon cattle, that they ought to pay at the same rate indiscriminately, notwithstanding the palpable difference in point of size between the cattle of the two countries, or, that there would be no inequality in charging every acre in the kingdom, without distinction, with the same land tax, though every one knows the astonishing difference that exists between their respective value and productions.

As to salt, the difference that exists in the rate of duty, between Scotch and English salt, cannot be objected to, the former being greatly inferior, in point of quality, to the latter, and the people being less able to afford to pay the tax. Indeed, so sensible was the government of Scotland, of the truth of that position, that by an act of the Scotch parliament in 1681, it is expressly declared, "*that salt and coal shall not bear any part of the supply*."¹ As
to

of that species of grain produced and consumed in Scotland is of an inferior sort, called *beir* or *big*, which is only worth, at an average, about 10s. *per* boll, or 13s. 4d. *per* quarter, making a difference of about 11s. 8d. *per* quarter. It would be the height of injustice to charge grain of such inferior value the same tax with the best barley; and if in any part of England *big* is cultivated, it should have the same advantage, though there are few districts in South Britain, where the soil and climate are not sufficiently favourable to the production of real barley.

¹ This act is not printed with the other Scotch statutes, but may be seen in Wight on Elections, Appendix, p. 467. In regard to coal, even under the government of Cromwel, when no partiality was likely to be shewn to Scotland, allowance was
made

to the salt tax in general, it is to be hoped, for reasons explained in a former part of this work ^k, that the earliest possible opportunity will be adopted, for exempting the country at large from so heavy and impolitic a burden.

Scotch revenue paid in England.

A very intelligent author has observed, that before the union all foreign goods consumed in Scotland, necessarily paid custom there; whereas since that event has taken place, all East India goods, all goods from the coast of Africa, and many articles from Portugal, Spain, Italy, the Levant, &c. together with the important articles of tea and groceries, though consumed in Scotland, are first landed in England, pay the customs there, and are afterwards transported to Scotland, duty free. Such a circumstance, it is well remarked, must necessarily augment the customs of England, and prevent their increase in Scotland; and indeed it has a little contributed to the great increase in that branch of the revenue in England after the year 1707 ^l. This, however, is not the only circumstance, which, since

made for the peculiar situation of that part of the island, as to fuel, inasmuch, that though various duties were charged on Scotch, as well as English coal, when consumed in England, yet Scotland was exempted. See Scotbell acts, 1651, cap. 1. Comm. Journals, vol. vi. p. 210.; and by another act during the usurpation, (anno 1656, cap. 9) the small coal of Scotland, on account of its inferior quality, was only charged half the duty or custom of the great coal, when exported from that country.

^k Vol. ii. p. 374.

^l History of our National Debts, part ii. p. 77.

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the union, diminishes the Scotch revenue: for the two nations being now considered as one, many articles of English manufacture, such as porter, glass, paper, &c. are brought from England to Scotland, which would have received either a bounty or a drawback in England, and would have been liable to custom-house duties in Scotland, had the two kingdoms been disunited. Many Scotchmen also, who reside occasionally in London, enter their carriages, horses, and servants in that part of the kingdom. It is impossible exactly to estimate the diminution which this occasions in the Scotch revenue; but it can hardly be stated at less, deducting what Scotland receives in the same way, than £.150,000 *per annum*.

Some contend, that in the revenue of Scotland, there ought to be included the taxes drawn from the consumption of such Scotchmen as reside in England, and spend their income there, together with those which the manufacturers and merchants of England are enabled to pay, in consequence of the profitable commerce they carry on with that country. But with regard to these two claims, it is to be considered, that there is hardly a state in Europe, and indeed hardly a country in any part of the globe, that might not, upon the same principles of commercial connexion, assert its rights to the gratitude of England, for adding to its income and revenue. At the same time, if, in consequence of the Union, more Scotchmen reside in England than otherwise would have been the case, and more English manufactures are imported, than would
have

have been consumed there, had it enjoyed a separate legislature, with authority sufficient to prohibit the manufactures of other countries, and to encourage their own, Scotland, to such an amount, if it could be estimated, has just pretensions.

I shall now proceed, to give the best account of the Income and Expenditure of Scotland that it is possible for me to draw up, after many fruitless endeavours to procure better and more accurate information on that interesting topic. In drawing up this statement, I shall not attempt to distinguish, the private or hereditary revenue of the crown from the public income, as with the exception of the crown rents and casualties, and the bishops rents, which produce very little clear income, the other branches are comprehended in the general accounts.

GENERAL VIEW of the Revenue of Scotland for the year ending 5th January 1804.

1. The customs	-	-	£.729,694	0	0
2. The excise, including the salt tax, but exclusive of the annual duties on to- bacco and malt	-	-	1,281,856	0	0
3. Tobacco and malt annual	-	-	112,467	0	0
4. Stamps	-	-	194,275	0	0
5. The post office	-	-	117,321	0	0
6. Land and assessed taxes	-	-	215,839	0	0
7. The 6d. <i>per</i> pound deduction from all pensions, salaries, perquisites, and other allowances from the crown	-	-	2,666	0	0
8. The 1s. deduction from ditto	-	-	3,860	0	0
Carry over			£.2,657,978	0	0

Brought over £.2,657,978 0 0

9. Excise and custom-house duties paid in England, on goods consumed in Scotland, including all bounties and drawbacks retained	-	-	150,000 0 0
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Total £.2,807,978 0 0

The Expenditure of Scotland, for the same year, was as follows :

1. Charges of collecting the Revenue.

1. Customs	-	-	£.61,564 0 0
2. Excise	-	-	125,079 0 0
3. Stamps	-	-	11,593 0 0
4. Post office	-	-	20,580 0 0
5. Land and assessed taxes	-	-	9,625 0 0
6. The taxes on pensions, &c.	-	-	280 0 0
			£.230,721 0 0

2. Bounties, Drawbacks, &c.

1. Deductions from the customs	-	£.231,107	0	0
2. Deductions from the excise	-	121,612	0	0
3. Deductions from the stamps	-	3,097	0	0
		<hr/>		
		£.355,816	0	0

3. Money remitted to, or received by, the Exchequer of England.

1. Remitted from the Scotch customs	£.375,800 0 0
2. ——— from the excise	1,086,000 0 0
3. The Scotch stamps	180,470 0 0
4. The post office	97,449 0 0
5. Land and assessed taxes	186,400 0 0

Carry over £.1,926,119 0 0

	Brought over	£.1,926,119	0	0
6. From the 6d. duty on salaries	-	2,649	0	0
7. From the 1s. deduction	-	3,629	0	0
			<hr/>	
		£.1,932,397	0	0
8. Excise and custom house duties paid in England on goods consumed in Scotland, to the amount of at least	-	150,000	0	0
			<hr/>	
	Total	£.2,082,397	0	0

4. Expences for maintaining the Civil Government of Scotland.

1. Paid out of the revenues of the customs	£.58,492	0	0
2. Paid out of the excise	78,673	0	0
		<hr/>	
Total	£.137,165	0	0

The following then may be given as a general statement of the Income and Expenditure of Scotland:

INCOME.

1.	Gross amount of the Scotch revenue	-	£.2,807,978	0	0
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EXPENDITURE.

2.	Charges of collection	-	£.230,721	0	0
3.	Bounties, Drawbacks, &c.	-	355,816	0	0
4.	Money actually remitted to the English exchequer	-	1,932,397	0	0
5.	Duties payable in England on goods consumed in Scotland, (supposed)		150,000	0	0
			<hr/>		
	Carry over		£.2,668,934	0	0
			£.2,807,978	0	0

Brought over	£.2,668,934	0	0	£.2,807,978	0	0
6. Expences of the civil government in Scotland	-	137,165	0	0		
		<hr/>		2,806,099	0	0
				<hr/>		
			Balance	£.1,879	0	0

This is a great revenue ; being fully adequate to defray the charges of an independent government, were it frugally administered. Indeed it is more than equal to the income of Sweden or of Denmark at this hour, and infinitely superior, *in amount at least*, to what England itself produced, with all its boasted prosperity and wealth, in the triumphant reign of Queen Elizabeth^m; and though formerly it was asserted South of the Tweed, that however splendid the income of Scotland might appear upon paper, yet that only a very inconsiderable portion of it was of a tangible nature, or came into the exchequer of England, yet *now* the case is greatly altered, and there are circumstances, which, when taken into consideration, render it a matter of astonishment, how so much, rather than how so little, is remitted from, and afforded by, that country.

An independent kingdom like Scotland, was entitled to retain, even after the Union, those offices

^m The revenue of Sweden is generally calculated at 4,500,000 rix-dollars, which, at 4s. 6d. each, amounts only to £.1,012,500 sterling. The income of Queen Elizabeth, at the highest calculation, could not exceed from 5 to £.600,000 *per annum*. See Part I. chap. viii. p. 135.

which

which had been instituted to reward the services, or to encourage the exertions, of such as had proved, or might prove, useful to their country.—And the few officers of state and remnants of a civil government and separate establishment which still exist there, cannot well be objected to, whilst offices of a similar nature are continued in England*.

As Scotland, though incorporated with England, was to be governed by its own laws, it was necessary to continue the ancient forms of proceedings, and the courts of judicature, to which the people were accustomed. On other terms an Union would not have been practicable. An alteration of ancient and established laws is what hardly any nation will submit to. The Norman conquest itself did not materially change those of England; such changes even the greatest tyrants and conquerors have attempted in vain.

The collecting a revenue in a country such as Scotland, as yet not distinguished for its opulence*, possessed at the same time of an extended line of coast full of bays and harbours, and consequently favourable to the smuggler, is, from the very nature of things, attended with heavy charges; and

* The civil establishment of Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne, amounted to £.28,937 and in the reign of Geo. I. to £.29,293. See Comm. Journals, vol. 18. p. 105. 107.

° In the first chapter of this Part it is remarked, that a great revenue can only be drawn from superfluous wealth, after maintaining the inhabitants of the country. As yet little of that wealth exists in Scotland, though it is increasing every day.
in

in so far as respects the customs at least, must proportionally be less productive.

If Scotland also, under all the disadvantages of having become in a manner an inferior and subordinate kingdom, is able to preserve the same proportion between the income of the two countries which existed at the Union, there is no just reason for complaint. That cannot be denied. England and Scotland, at the memorable æra above alluded to, were taxed to the amount of £.5,851,803 of which it was supposed that Scotland would produce about £.160,000 *per annum*, or little more than a thirty-sixth part of the whole; whereas at present, the gross produce of the income of the two kingdoms may be stated at £.44,800,000, of which £.2,800,000 or about one-sixteenth, instead of one-thirty-sixth part, is furnished by North Britain^p. The difference in the proportion between the two periods, does no small degree of credit to the financial resources of Scotland. Besides, the income of Scotland ought not to be compared with that of England in general, including the metropolis: for London is the capital of Scotland as well as of England, and if the taxes which it yields were

^p It may be asserted that the calculation ought to depend, not upon the *gross*, but upon the *net* income: but erroneously. The question is, what is furnished by each of the two kingdoms, for the general benefit of the whole empire; and the charges of collection, which are, and must be proportionably higher in Scotland than in England, are not only a necessary part of the national expenditure, but unquestionably the most essential.

deducted, the difference in regard to taxation between Scotland and the country in England, considering the difference of extent and of fertility between the two kingdoms, would not be much dwelt on.

It is only farther to be remarked, that Scotland never before yielded so great an income, even when it was a separate and independent kingdom; and that when Edward I. proposed an union, he offered terms, in regard to taxation, infinitely more favourable than the present. For by one clause he became bound, that no duties, taxes, levies of men, &c. should be exacted in Scotland, but "*such as, being usual in former times, shall consist with the common good and interest of the nation*."¹ Thus all new taxes, and additional impositions and burdens of every kind, were guarded against as in the highest degree dangerous.

Advantages
of the
Union.

But it is not in regard to revenue alone, that England is to estimate the advantages it reaps from its union with Scotland.

Ever since the dissolution of the heptarchy, or at least since the Norman conquest, it has been obliged to maintain the rank of a great and powerful kingdom in the scale of Europe. It was able to appear with sufficient dignity and lustre, whilst it held possessions on the continent; whilst France was confined within narrower bounds; or whilst that country continued in a weak and enervated

¹ Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 38.

state,

state, from the prevalence of the feudal system. But had France risen to the power which it now possesses, and had England and Scotland continued separate and independent kingdoms; had the latter been the ally of France, as was formerly the case; and joined to this, had England been attacked, as it has recently experienced, by other enemies, how could it possibly have resisted so powerful a combination? Or, if it had, how could its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have risen, under perpetual terror and apprehension, to their present flourishing state? Indeed an union between the two crowns, by the accession of James I. was accounted so fatal a circumstance to the French monarchy, that Henry IV. made every possible exertion in order to prevent it^{*}.

On the supposition, therefore, that England must have been occasionally engaged in wars with its neighbours, what an advantage is it to have Scotland, not an enemy, but a brother in the cause? It was supposed, that in the war concluded *anno* 1762, Scotland furnished about 70,000 able and gallant men to supply the fleets and armies of the empire. Perhaps even a greater number was sent during the last war; and if it were granted, that England could have paid for the forces in the manner which it has done[†], yet still how could it have spared

^{*} This fact is fully proved by Cardinal d'Orléans's letters.

[†] This may be questioned. The customs and excise could never have been so productive, had Scotland remained independent,

spared such a body of men from the labours of the field, or from other useful employments ?

Indeed England has reason to rejoice, that it was able to procure an union with an independent kingdom, on such favourable terms. It resembled a great proprietor, in the very bosom of whose territory a small possession existed, to the acquisition of which, except by the voluntary surrender of the owner, insurmountable obstacles were placed. Such an acquisition, in private life, is considered as of the last importance, nor is any price accounted too great. The ancient barons of Scotland had unanimously declared, that “ whilst a hundred

pendent, and given the least encouragement to smuggling into England.

‘ I have heard Englishmen remark that this was an ideal advantage : that as England paid for the whole, it could always have purchased the men from Scotland, as it does the troops of German Princes. But it is much to be questioned, whether England could have acquired the wealth necessary for that purpose, had it not been for the internal peace and security which the Union produced. Besides, to the enemies of England, the friendship of Scotland would have been of such value, that the English could not have obtained it without making very important sacrifices. Nor would the Scots, at present so renowned for their fidelity, and attachment to the cause in which they have been engaged, have adhered so closely to their colours as they have done, had it not been for the idea, that they were fighting, not only for pay, but for their country. And now that a union with Ireland has taken place, it will probably be seen, that the fatal propensity to desertion, with which the common soldiers of that country were formerly so justly reproached, will become much less prevalent.

“ Scotchmen

“Scotchmen remained alive, they would never be “subjected, in any manner of way, *to the dominion of England*.” The same spirit existed in Scotland *anno* 1706, though fortunately it was much less vehement and less extended. And how much soever the present Union may be accounted equal, on account of the inequality of the two nations in regard to territory and population, yet in former times, an unequal number of representatives, would have been accounted, *as in some manner of way* coming under the *dominion* of England, and consequently would have been rejected.

But the Union at the same time is an event, the existence of which Scotland has no reason to regret. Those who will take the trouble of comparing the situation of that country, whilst it was subject to independent monarchs, or even since the two crowns were united, (the reign of William III. itself not excepted), with its present state, must soon be convinced of the happy consequences which have resulted from it*. We cannot indeed attri-

* See the famous letter from the Scotch nobility to the Pope, 6th April 1320, Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 264.

* There is one advantage, which, though not absolutely promised, was yet held forth to Scotland as an inducement to accede to the Union, but which has hitherto been unfortunately neglected; namely, the establishment of public granaries, to prevent that scarcity of grain, which the nature of its climate so frequently occasions in that country, particularly in the northern parts of it. See Inquiry into the Union, by the Wednesday's Club, p. 124. written, it is said, under the patronage of government, and printed *anno* 1717.

bute every improvement which has recently taken place, to the Union. For without it, there must have been some, and perhaps considerable advancement: it is impossible, however, to deny, that the progress of Scotland, by that event, has been not a little accelerated.

The Scots have also to consider, that by the Union, they have connected themselves with a nation, who will make as distinguished a figure in the page of history, as any people that ever existed: a nation that can boast, not only of warriors and of statesmen, of poets, of philosophers, and of artists, equal, and in many instances superior, to those of other countries; but who have also brought the various arts connected with the cultivation of the soil; the improvements necessary in carrying on every species of manufacturing industry; the theory and the practice of commerce, that wonderful assemblage that constitutes naval strength; and above all, the principles of good government, and the forms of a free constitution, to a height of perfection, which the world never before witnessed.

7 The English character is thus beautifully and justly described by Goldsmith in his Traveller:

- “ I see the lords of human kind pass by,
- “ Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
- “ Intent on high designs, a thoughtful band
- “ By forms unfashion'd, fresh from Nature's hand ;
- “ Fierce in a native hardiness of soul,
- “ True to imagin'd right, above control ;
- “ While even the peasant boasts these rights to scan,
- “ And learns to venerate himself as man.”

May

May both nations, or, to speak more properly, the natives of South and North Britain, sensible of the mutual advantages which they now enjoy, forget every remnant of ancient jealousy and rancour : and those whom the hand of Providence hath joined, may no man impiously put asunder !

CHAP. III.

Of the Revenue and financial Circumstances of Ireland.

THE political interests of Great Britain and Ireland, are now so closely, and I trust inseparably connected, that this work would contain but an imperfect account of the Finances of the BRITISH EMPIRE, if it did not furnish the reader, with a short statement of the past and present state of the revenue of Ireland ; and more especially a concise view of its nature and amount since the union which has so happily taken place between the two kingdoms. For that purpose it is our intention to lay before the reader : 1. A short historical sketch of the progress of the revenue of Ireland, from the invasion of that country by the English, to the present times. 2. An account of its income as it now stands. 3. A state of its debts, and the progress hitherto made in their redemption. 4. A view of its expenditure. 5. Some particulars regarding the manner in which the public accounts of the kingdom were formerly brought under the consideration of the

L 4

Irish

Irish parliament ; and 6. Shall conclude with some observations on the union which has fortunately been adjusted between the two kingdoms, and the advantages which are likely to be derived from it by both nations.

1. PROGRESS of the REVENUE of IRELAND*.

Henry II.

It was during the reign of Henry II. of England, that the two kingdoms were first politically connected. Under the pretence of restoring Dermot king of Leinster to the throne, from which he had been justly driven by his subjects, the English monarch, for the first time, openly interfered in the affairs of Ireland, and began to take the measures necessary for securing to his crown so desirable and important an acquisition.

The situation of Ireland, at the time, was not a little favourable to his views. It was split into five different sovereignties, each of which was subdivided into various septs or clans, jealous of each

* In regard to the revenue of Ireland, prior to the English invasion, it appears from an old Irish record, called, "The book of Tributes," that the monarch who claimed the sovereignty of the whole island, had certain taxes paid him in kind, by the inferior princes, in cattle, mantles, cloaths, and other articles of a similar nature, which were given him, not as *Tributes of Bondage*, but as *benevolences*, in return for the benefit of his laws, and the benedictions of his clergy. Leland's History of Ireland, preliminary discourse, p. 31. Even after the conquest, the revenues exacted by the kings of England from their Irish subjects, were paid *in cows* for want of money. See Cox's Hist. of Ireland, in the apparatus or introductory discourse.

other,

other, and consequently less anxious to oppose the progress of the common enemy. The English were also greatly superior to the natives, in discipline and in arms; and hence the latter were the more easily induced to avoid a bloody and destructive contest, by an early submission. Even Roderick king of Connaught, who alone attempted to resist the formidable invader, was obliged to acknowledge himself the tributary of the English crown. Henry, however, acquired little more than the feudal superiority of the island, and the possession of some towns on the sea coast, with the districts immediately surrounding them. The native princes were suffered to retain their ancient rights and revenues, subject to a tribute of every tenth hide sold in their respective dominions^a.

During a long course of years after the acquisition of at least part of Ireland, historians record but few important particulars connected with the present subject. In the twelfth year of the reign of John indeed, we are told, that a court of exchequer was erected in that country, for the management of the public revenue^b. It also appears, that during the government of Henry III. his Irish, as well as his English subjects, had just reason to complain of the exactions of that monarch, and of the oppressions of his ministers^c. His son Edward I. not satisfied with drawing a revenue from Ireland, endeavoured

^a Brompton (Decem Script.) 1106, Rymer, vol. i. p. 41.

^b Howard's Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland, vol. i. p. 1.

^c Leland, vol. i. p. 232.

to borrow money from that country, for carrying on hostilities against the Welch^d; and whilst Edward II. sat upon the throne, such it should seem was the confusion and disorders in Ireland, particularly after the invasion of Edward Bruce, that the only mode by which the English army could be maintained, was by imposing *coigne* and *livery*; that is by extorting money and provisions, by force, from the wretched inhabitants.

Edward III. The amount of the income which Edward III. enjoyed from Ireland, has been not a little controverted. On the one hand, Walsingham and Holingshead positively assert, that it amounted to £.30,000 a year. Whereas Sir John Davis, who seems to have carefully examined the Irish records, affirms, "that it " never came to £.10,000 *per annum*, taking the " medium of the best seven years that are to be " found in the reign of that monarch^e." And as the commons of England loudly clamoured, that

^d Rymer, vol. ii. p. 220.

^e The same author also, from an inspection of the records, refutes an erroneous account of the produce of the Irish customs, which, instead of 10,000 marks, as has been asserted, yielded only 1,000 *per annum*, p. 43. The subsidies granted by the Irish parliament, it would appear, were only at the rate of two or three thousand pounds at a time. Leland, vol. i. p. 323. As for the Irish expences in this reign, when Sir William Windsor undertook the government of that country, he contracted with the king, to defray the whole charges of the kingdom for £.11,213 : 6 : 8. Davis, p. 39. All these circumstances tend to prove, that Walsingham and Holingshead were mistaken.

the king received no advantage from his possessions in Ireland, and earnestly requested that an alteration should take place in the administration of that country, if his ministers there were to blame ; it is more than probable, that Edward's income has been greatly exaggerated.

The most important financial transaction that Richard II. took place, under the government of Richard II. was a tax upon *absentees*. So weak was the state of the English settlements in Ireland, and so formidable had the incursions of the natives become, that it was thought necessary to enforce the residence of such as had property in that kingdom, by penal statutes. Accordingly, an act was passed, in the English parliament, by which such as did not repair to Ireland, or did not send sufficient deputies in their room, to assist in the public defence, were taxed to the amount of two thirds of their Irish income, to be applied to the service of that country. Such as were employed by the king in other public concerns, the students at the universities in England, or those who obtained the king's licence under the great seal, were exempted, upon paying one third of their revenue^f. Richard himself thought it necessary to pass into Ireland, with a view of completing the conquest of that country^g. But we are told, that he neither extended the possessions of the English, nor made any addition to his revenue. And whilst that unfortunate monarch was engaged

^f Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 85, No. 42.

^g Davis, p. 51.

in a second attempt of a similar nature, means were taken to deprive him of both his kingdoms, by his ambitious and politic kinsman Henry IV.

House of
Lancaster.

Henry IV. was too much occupied in securing the crown he had usurped; and Henry V. in his enterprize against France, to pay much attention to the affairs of Ireland. And to such a height had the disorders of that country arisen, that, *anno* 1433, the public revenue was reduced to the inconsiderable sum of £.2,339 : 18 : 6. The usual expences of the government amounted to £.2,358 : 15 : 11½; consequently they exceeded the annual income by £.18 : 17 : 5½^b. In the reign of Henry VI. Richard duke of York undertook the charge of that kingdom. He demanded however, not only the whole revenue of Ireland, (which he was to receive without being in any respect accountable for the same); but also stipulated, that he should be supplied from England, for the first year, with four thousand marks, and afterwards with £.2,000 *per annum*, whilst his government continued¹.

House of
York.

Nor were the finances of Ireland in a better state, during the short period that the house of York sat upon the throne. It was thought necessary to have a standing force of 140 horsemen to assist the militia

^b Rot. Parl. Aug. vol. iv. p. 434. 11 Henry VI. It should seem from this record, that Ireland was then accounted a dependent province upon the English crown: for its revenues were remitted to England, and not accounted for to the parliament of that country.

¹ Davis, p. 58.

of the country, in defending the English pale ; and though the expence of that small troop was only estimated at £.500 *per annum* ; yet that sum was supposed to exceed the resources of the Irish government ; and it was thought necessary to assure the deputy, that money should be sent from England, if the Irish revenue should prove unequal to the proposed establishment^k. In the instructions also which were given to the officers of state at that time, they were specially enjoined, that no more than one subsidy, and that subsidy not to exceed 1,200 marks, or £.800, as *hath been accustomed*, should be demanded in any one year^l.

It may be proper here to mention, that by an act of the English parliament, absentees from Ireland were made again subject to certain taxes specified in the statute, for the purpose of raising a supply to defend the English settlements from the attacks of the Irish^m. And that, though parliaments were then held in Ireland ; yet, the English legislature claimed, and enjoyed a controuling and superintending authority over those assemblies. Receivers and triers of petitions, as they were called, were appointed for Ireland, as often as an English parliament was assembled ; and it appears that in the eighth year of Edward II. several lords of Ire-

^k Leland, vol. ii. p. 65.

^l Ibid, p. 66. But in the Appendix to the same volume, p. 512, it is stated by Leland, that the subsidy should not exceed 700 marks.

^m Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 192. 17 Edward IV.

land were summoned to a parliament at Westminster, to consult upon the general business of the two kingdoms.

Henry VII. The exertions of Henry VII. to raise a considerable revenue, and to accumulate an immense treasure in England, have been already taken notice of. Nor was he inattentive to the finances of his other kingdom. He procured an act imposing a duty of £.1 : 6 : 8 on every six score acres of arable land, to continue for five years^a. In his reign also, a duty of one shilling in the pound on all goods imported or exported (wine and oil only excepted) was first laid on, throughout the whole kingdom; and at the same time, a subsidy of thirteen shillings and four-pence on every plow-land, was granted for ten years. This grant was afterwards renewed for the same space of time; and so little were the Irish acquainted with Henry's real character, that it was thought proper specially to provide, that "if this
 " act or grant of subsidy be thought by our Sove-
 " reign lord the king, and his council, hurtful or
 " prejudicial to his subjects of this land, then our
 " sovereign, shall, at his will and pleasure diminish,
 " extinct, adnulle, or revoke the foresaid grant of
 " subsidy, in part, or in whole^o." It is hardly
 necessary

15 Henry
 VII.
 Ann. 1506.

^a Leland, vol. ii. p. 102.

^o Ibid. p. 117 and 118. Irish customs, until the reign of Henry VII. in general, were levied only upon hydes, wool, and wool-fells *exported*. Davis, p. 44. But by statute 14 Edward IV. a tax of one shilling in the pound was imposed on all
 merchandize

necessary to observe, that there were few monarchs less disposed than Henry to carry into effect so extensive a power of mitigation.

During the reign of Henry VIII. some addition Henry VIII. was made to the revenue of Ireland, by the suppression of religious houses, and by vesting their property in the crown. The former laws against absentees, were also revived and enforced; two thirds of their annual income were appropriated to the public service; and the subsidy of thirteen and four-pence for each plow-land, was regularly voted as necessary for the maintenance of the English government, against the efforts of the natives.

From the death of Henry VIII. nothing re- Elizabeth. markable occurs, with regard to the present subject, until the accession of Elizabeth. This spirited and able sovereign, was more unsuccessful in her government of Ireland, than in any other political undertaking. The strict attention to economy, by which her reign was so greatly distinguished, was ill suited to the circumstances of that country, and the exertions necessary to preserve it in a state of tranquillity and subjection, particularly after Philip King of Spain had begun to tamper with the Irish, and to incite them to rebellion. The ordinary

merchandise sold in Ireland, for the maintenance of a military association called the fraternity of St. George. The goods of the freemen of Dublin and Drogheda, however, were exempted, and consequently it was not a general tax over the whole kingdom. Leland, vol. ii. p. 61.

income

income of the kingdom amounted only to £.6,000 *per annum*. Twenty thousand pounds additional were remitted from England in aid of that inconsiderable revenue^p. But it was paid with much repining, and not very punctually. And when Perrot the lord deputy engaged, if the remittances were augmented to £.50,000, for only three years, to encompass and strengthen the whole realm, with royal garrisons connected by an easy and secure communication, the proposal was rejected both by the queen and the English parliament, as by far too expensive a measure to be adopted^q. The evil being thus neglected, and the government of Ireland left in a state of weakness and debility, the native Irish were encouraged to revolt, and a flame burst out which could not be extinguished, until England was put to heavier charges, than any war, whether foreign or domestic, had ever formerly required. No less a sum than £.3,400,000 being expended in quelling the insurrection^r.

The

^p Hume's History of England, vol. v. p. 398.

^q Leland, vol. ii. p. 295.

^r Not only the native Irish, but the English colonists, were greatly dissatisfied with the government of Elizabeth. A bill, imposing a new duty upon wines, was transmitted from England to receive the sanction of the Irish parliament; and when it met with a formidable opposition, a member connected with the administration of the time, asserted in the house, "that the queen might impose those duties by her own prerogative, though she condescended to receive them from their duty and affection." A doctrine not at all relished by the assembly to which

The revenue of Ireland, during this monarch's ^{James I.} reign, still continued inadequate to the public expences, to the amount, it is supposed, of above £.16,000 *per annum*. The income of the different branches however was encreasing. The customs, which formerly had hardly yielded £.50 yearly, was gradually raised to £.3,000, and ultimately to £.9,700 *per annum*. The prerogative of wardship, and other feudal rights belonging to the crown, of old of little value, were brought to produce £.10,000 annually. The crown rents also were more strictly collected; and the foundation of a great increase was laid by a new plantation in the province of Ulster. But all was insufficient. Besides the expences of the civil government, the troops maintained in Ireland, though reduced from about 20,000 to the inconsiderable number of 1,350 foot, and about 200 horse, cost no less a sum than £.52,500 *per annum*. It was to defray the expence

which it was addressed. Leland, vol. ii. p. 242. And afterwards, when lord deputy Sydney, with the concurrence of the crown, by the mere authority of the Irish council, attempted to enforce a tax in lieu of the ancient prerogative of purveyance, the whole country was alarmed, denied the legality of the tax, and refused payment of it when demanded. Elizabeth at first, endeavoured to crush all opposition, by violent and imperious measures; but finding the Irish determined, and dreading that her enemies might take advantage of any confusion in that part of her dominions, she reluctantly gave directions, that the dispute should be speedily accommodated to the public satisfaction. Leland, p. 261. 266. On the whole, the reign of Elizabeth in Ireland, shews the danger of too strict an attention to economy in carrying on wars.

of the army in Ireland, that English baronets were first created, by which £.98,500 was raised; in addition to which, the sum of £.247,433 was remitted from England, to discharge the debts due in Ireland, in the time of queen Elizabeth, and to pay several extraordinary charges above the usual establishment^c.

One subsidy was granted to James, by the Irish parliament. It was a tax of 2s. 8d. in the pound on every personal estate of the value of £.3 and upwards, and twice that sum on aliens; and on real estates, of the value of 20s. and upwards 4d. in the pound was imposed. The king was so delighted with this liberal grant, that he enjoined the lord deputy to assure the Irish, that he held his subjects there in equal favour with those of his other kingdoms, and that he should be as careful to provide

^c Leland, p. 469. 471. 473. 475. Sommer's Collection of Tracts, 3 Col. vol. ii. p. 10. In the abstract, or brief declaration of James's revenue, there are three articles which seem to relate to Ireland, which are stated in the following terms:

In fees and annuities out of the revenue			
there to the civil state not inclined to			
these issues	-	-	£.14,000 0 0
In ready money out of the establishment			403,000 0 0
Castles and forts	-	-	4,917 0 0
			<hr/>
			£.421,917 0 0

The nature of these expences are so indistinctly mentioned, that it is almost impossible to explain whence the money arose, or how the whole of it was expended.

for

for their prosperous and flourishing state as for the safety of his own person*.

The government of Charles I. in so far as relates ^{Charles I.} to the revenue of Ireland, may be divided into three periods. The first, from his accession, to the appointment of the Earl of Strafford as lord lieutenant: The second terminates with the government of that unfortunate minister: and the third period comprehends the remaining part of Charles's reign.

Before Strafford was sent to Ireland, this monarch did not seem to have known, in what manner that country ought to be treated. Finding some difficulties in procuring money to pay his forces there, he scrupled not to give directions, that the army should be quartered in the different counties and towns of Ireland, and they were ordered to furnish them, by turns, for three months at a time, with money, cloaths, and victuals*. The hopes of extorting some favourable concessions from the king's necessities, made his Irish subjects submit, with less reluctance to so heavy and unusual a burden.

A contest was afterwards carried on for some time between Charles and the Irish, which of them should the best deceive, or outwit the other. The Irish sent agents to the court, who made a liberal offer of granting a voluntary contribution to the amount of £.120,000, to be paid in three years, at

* See the king's letter to lord Chichester the deputy. Comm. Journ, vol. i. p. 53.

* Leland, vol. ii. p. 479.

the rate of £.40,000 *per annum*, in consideration of which, certain graces, or regulations in favour of his Irish subjects were required⁷. But the king had no inclination to part with his power, and his subjects in Ireland were resolved, unless their wishes were complied with, not to part with their property. The consequence was a struggle which of them should succeed best, by intrigue and artifice; in the course of which both parties were mutually dissatisfied. The Irish, however, obtained some stipulations in their favour; and they agreed to pay the voluntary subsidy, at the rate of 5, instead of £.10,000 *per quarter*. It was afterwards continued at the rate of £.20,000 *per annum*, for two years, during Strafford's administration⁸.

The Earl of Strafford was a minister, who seems to have been well calculated to forward the service of a despotic sovereign, but he was by far too violent, severe, and untractable; and too regardless of the principles of truth, of justice, and of decency, for acting as the representative of the first magistrate of a limited monarchy. His conduct in Ireland, proved in what manner he was desirous his unfortunate master should govern at home; for the most candid and indulgent, (as we are told by a respectable historian of Ireland), could discover pride, insolence, and tyranny in his administration⁹. Seldom indeed it is found, that great abilities are

⁷ Leland, vol. ii. p. 483.

⁸ Ibid, vol. iii. p. 5. 9. 14.

⁹ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 73.

united with moderation, serenity of temper, and real virtue.

The principal object which that minister had in view, was to improve the revenue, and consequently to relieve the necessities of his royal master. In that attempt he was far from being unsuccessful, insomuch, that in a letter to the king, dated 15th July 1638, he asserted, that he had advanced the revenue there from £.4,300, to £.8,800 a year^b. The rents payable to the crown were greatly increased. Considerable sums were raised by fines when letters patent were renewed, and plantations were granted^c. Six subsidies were unanimously given by the laity, and eight by the clergy; and so full had the exchequer become, that the lord lieutenant was able to send over £.30,000, to the king, when the Scots first began to oppose his authority^d. Such grants, however, were too heavy to be frequently renewed^e. It is said, that one year's assessment on the Earl of Cork, amounted to £.3,600^f. And it was thought necessary for the commons to resolve, in order to prevent such oppression for the future, that no subject should be taxed for more than a tenth part of his estate, real and personal; which they called a moderate, parliamentary, easy, and equal rate^g.

^b Considerations on the revenue of Ireland. Printed at London, Aug. 1757. p. 2.

^c Ibid. p. 29. and 39.

^d Ibid. p. 45.

^e An. 1640, four subsidies were granted, and two more promised, but even the first were reluctantly and scantily supplied. Ireland, vol. iii. p. 53.

^f Ibid. p. 56.

^g Ibid. p. 59.

With regard to the income of Ireland, during the reign of this monarch, posterior to the Earl of Strafford's death, it is only necessary to remark, that the Irish were with difficulty prevailed upon to grant the king £.30,000; one half to be paid in money at different periods; and the other half in cattle^a. And that when the lord justices, reduced to the last necessity for supplies to maintain the forces, ventured without any authority from the crown, to establish an excise, such was the poverty of the country, that, though the duty was laid at one half of the value of the commodity, it did not prove in any degree productive¹.

The Com-
monwealth.

The nature and value of the Irish revenue, is better known whilst it was subject to the military government of Cromwell, than at any former era of its history. The following statement of it was laid before the English parliament *anno* 1659.

By the assessments of £.9,000 a-month	-	£.108,000	0	0
By the customs and excise in farm	-	70,000	0	0
By rents of lands, houses, &c.	-	2,679	0	0
By rents of impropriations, &c.	-	7,611	0	0
By Sheriffs accounts, the hanaper account, with fines and amerciaments	-	1,500	0	0
Total annual income of Ireland		£.207,790	0	0

The expences were thus stated:

The pay of the army	-	£.311,582	5	4
The lord lieutenant	-	3,864	8	11
		£.315,446	14	3

^a Leland, vol. iii. p. 209.

¹ Ibid. p. 203.

² Journals of the Com. of England, vol. vii. p. 628.

	£.315,446	14	3
The council and their clerks	7,600	0	0
The court of chancery	2,258	0	0
The upper bench	1,167	10	0
The common pleas	1,007	10	0
The exchequer	1,971	15	0
The justices of assize,	1,000	0	0
The president of Connaught, and the provost martial of Leinster and Munster	1,887	0	0
The overseers of Dublin hospital, &c.	1,807	8	4
To 8 receivers of the revenue	165	0	0
To 8 comptrollers and searchers of the customs	1,150	0	0
Pensions to maimed soldiers and their widows and orphans	3,000	0	0
Allowances, contingencies, and casual issues	8,000	0	0
Total	£.346,480	17	7 ¹

Thus it appears, that the revenue of Ireland at that time, was deficient to the amount of about £.138,790 *per annum*.

It is also to be observed, that the above revenue, however inadequate it was to the expences of government, was procured with the utmost difficulty, and raised by means the most oppressive; and nothing but the wise, just, and liberal administration of Henry Cromwell, the protector's son, could have prevented perpetual insurrections among the natives, notwithstanding all the military force that existed in that country^m.

The

¹ Commons Journals, p. 630.

^m Indeed such was the distressed condition of Ireland, that were it not for the supplies from England in specie, all trade, planting,

Charles II.

The destruction of the commonwealth, and the restoration of the royal family to the throne, was celebrated with as much zeal and loyalty, in Ireland, as in any part of his majesty's dominions. As an evidence of which, the convention of estates voted a present of £.20,000 to his majesty, 4,000 to the duke of York, and £.2,000 to the duke of Gloucester; imitating in this respect the example which had been previously shewn them, by the English legislature^a: and when the Irish parliament was assembled, it gave still more ample testimonies of its regard to the crown; by granting

1. An hereditary revenue to the king, his heirs, and successors.
2. An excise for the purpose of maintaining the army^o.
3. The subsidy of tonnage and poundage to defray naval charges^p.
- And 4. a tax on hearths, at the rate of 2s. *per annum*, for the support and dignity of the crown, and by way of compensation for the abolition of the court of wards, and the profits attending it^q.

The amount of the Irish revenue, during this reign, can be pretty nearly ascertained. At first, it was inadequate to the public expences; and the duke of Ormond, when first appointed lord lieutenant, found it necessary, at one time, to draw on

planting, and industry would have ceased, and the English there would have become as brutish as the Irish. See Thurlow's Letters, vol. vii. p. 72.

^a Leland, vol. iii. p. 407.

^o 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 8.

^p Ibid. cap. 9.

^q Ibid. cap. 17.

the English treasury for £.15,000[†]. It afterwards arose to £.300,000 a-year; of which £.36,000 were expended on ships to secure the coast of Ireland, and £.44,000 in supporting the garrison of Tangiers, whilst that fortress was kept possession of[‡]. Private grants also were occasionally conferred by the king's express directions[§].

In regard to the temporary grants, during this reign, they were not very numerous; and the produce of each it is difficult now to ascertain.

At one period, there was such a scarcity of specie Anno 1687; in Ireland, that the lord lieutenant found it necessary to accept of the payment of part of the subsidies, not in money, but in provisions^{*}: And when the fire at London naturally excited the compassion and humanity of those who were themselves exempted from so dreadful a calamity, a subscription being raised for the relief of the unhappy sufferers, 30,000 beaves, the principal species of wealth which the country afforded, were subscribed for that generous purpose[‡].

The oppression and misconduct of those to whom James II. James II. intrusted the government of Ireland, had reduced the revenue of that country very considerably, before James had personally attempted to preserve that part of his dominions. He was

^{*} Leland, vol. iii. p. 445.

[†] Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 472.

[‡] Leland, vol. iii. p. 468.

[§] Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 345. Leland, vol. iii. p. 448.

[‡] Carte. p. 329 & 337. Leland, vol. iii. p. 346.

reduced

reduced to the necessity, therefore, of pursuing the most desperate expedients in order to procure money. By one act of the Irish parliament assembled by him, the real estates of those who did not immediately acknowledge his authority, or who aided and corresponded with such as supported his opponent, were declared to be forfeited, and the personal estates of all absentees were vested in the Crown[†]. The native Irish, anxious to display their zeal and affection, had granted a monthly subsidy of £.20,000, to be levied on the land; but the produce of that tax being insufficient for his military expenditure, he exacted, by his own authority, and contrary to the advice of his council, a similar tax upon personal property[‡]. The issuing of base money, however, was the circumstance of which his Irish subjects had the greatest reason to complain[§].

[†] Leland, vol. iii. p. 538 and 539.

[‡] Ibid. p. 540.

[§] A short account of this transaction, will not probably be unacceptable. James, it seems, had seized the tools and engines of one Moore, who, by virtue of a patent from Charles II. enjoyed the right of a copper coinage in Ireland. Being thus enabled to coin money, he resolved to establish mints at Dublin and Limerick. Brass and copper of the basest kind, old cannon, broken bells, household utensils, were assiduously collected; and from every pound weight of such materials, valued at fourpence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value. By the first proclamation they were made currency in all payments to and from the king and the subjects of the realm, except in the duties on the importation of foreign goods, money left in trust, or due by mortgages, bills, or

WILLIAM III.

The reign of William III. is justly considered to be one of the most remarkable periods in the Irish

or bonds; and James promised that when this money should be coined, he would receive it in all payments, or would make full satisfaction in gold and silver. His soldiers were now paid in this coin; it was poured on the protestant traders. The nominal value was raised by subsequent proclamations; the original restrictions were removed, and this base money was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments. As brass and copper grew scarce, it was made of still viler materials, of tin and pewter. It was obtruded on protestants with many circumstances of insolence and cruelty. Old debts of £1,000 were discharged by pieces of vile metal, amounting to 30s. in intrinsic value. Attempts were made to purchase gold and silver at immoderate rates with the brass money; but this was quickly forbidden on pain of death; and when the protestants attempted to exonerate themselves of these heaps of coin, by purchasing the staple commodities of the kingdom, James, by proclamation, set a rate on these commodities, demanded them at this rate, returned his brass on the proprietors; and, with all the meannesses of a trader, exported them to France. It appeared indeed in the end, that James was the only gainer by this iniquitous project; and that in the final course of circulation, his own party became possessed of the greatest part of this adulterate coin, just at the time when William had power to suppress it by proclamation. Yet certain it is, that during that melancholy interval in which the popish party was predominant, protestants felt all the distresses arising from a state of war and disorder, aggravated by the wanton insolence of their adversaries. If they attempted to purchase corn, or other provisions with the brass coin, these were instantly seized for the king's use, and the proprietors imprisoned, as men who intended to supply the enemy*.

* Leland, vol. iii. p. 540.

history.

history.—It was an interesting spectacle to see two rival monarchs contending for the crown of Ireland, at the head of their respective troops; and instead of the predatory incursions of roving *Creaghts*^b, and the trifling skirmishes resulting therefrom,—regular armies embattled against each other, and employing all the resources which the art of war can furnish. The event, it is well known, proved unfavourable to James and his Irish adherents; but the conquest was not achieved without a severe struggle, which produced the most important consequences in regard to the population, the property, and the general state and circumstances of the kingdom.

The expences which this war occasioned to England, amounting to £.3,851,655, for military expences alone, (besides those of a naval nature,) have been already stated in a former part of this work^c. There is reason to believe that a very considerable proportion of this sum might have been saved. Leland observes that the leaders of the English party in Ireland, were not desirous of putting an end to the war, or of inducing the Irish to submit, apprehensive that it might prevent the forfeitures which they expected; and it was well

^b Described by Leland as a particular species of Irish, who issued from their retreats with their wives, children, and cattle, roved in search of subsistence, without any certain abode or destination, and plundered every district which they visited. vol. iii. p. 588.

^c Vol. ii. p. 44.

remarked by Ginckle, who brought the war at last to a conclusion, "That the civil officers regarded
 " more adding £.50 a year to the English interest
 " in this kingdom, than saving the expence of
 " £.50,000. I promise myself, that it is more
 " for the king's, the allies', and England's interest,
 " to remit most, or all the forfeitures, so that we
 " could immediately bring the kingdom under his
 " majesty's obedience^d.

It was not to be expected, that a country thus distracted by civil war, and where a considerable revolution in property had recently taken place, could, for some time, be very productive of revenue. During the first two or three years, posterior to the Revolution therefore, the amount was not considerable, though afterwards it greatly increased. The following account comprehends the whole income of Ireland, whether arising from customs, excise, or any other branch then existing.

Public Revenue from the landing of Duke Schomberg, on 13th August, 1689, to the commencement of the year 1703.

Public Revenue, <i>anno</i>	1689	£. 8,884
_____	1690	93,910
_____	1691	274,949
_____	1692	393,926
_____	1693	444,183
_____	1694	430,034
_____	1695	438,304

^d Leland, vol. iii. p. 601.

Public Revenue, <i>anno</i>	1696	513,534
_____	1697	548,967
_____	1698	601,846
_____	1699	710,932
_____	1700	766,620
_____	1701	697,955
_____	1702	581,886*

This statement includes a part of Queen Anne's reign, but it was difficult to separate the income of the two sovereigns from the manner in which the accounts are drawn up.

The Irish government soon found, that the sums above stated were not enough. Lord Deputy Sydney, in his speech from the throne, observes, " that the present established revenue of " the kingdom is not sufficient to defray the ex- " pence of such an army as must be kept up for " the common safety, and other necessary charges " of government ;" and recommended additional supplies^f. In fact, had it not been for the money remitted from the English Exchequer, (which, at the same time, without doubt, it was essential for the interests of England to furnish), Ireland must have been, perhaps, for ever separated from that country.

Irish forfei-
tures pos-
terior to the
Revolution.

The sums expended by the government of England in completing the subjugation of Ireland, it was imagined might have been, in a great mea-

* See Comm. Journ. vol. ii. Append. p. 4 and ditto p. 108.

^f Ibid. vol. ii. p. 11. 10th October, 1692.

sure,

sure, defrayed from the forfeitures which took place in that kingdom after the revolution. At one period it was asserted, that these forfeitures might have yielded the sum of £.1,699,343; but notwithstanding every exertion made by the English House of Commons, who spared no pains to make this resource effectual, it proved of little avail; the favourites of the crown, as it might be expected, taking care to secure the greater part of the advantages to be derived from such an acquisition to themselves; and, in some cases, grants being given to persons who were entitled to such a reward for their services in quelling the rebellion^{*}.

The only remaining circumstance connected with ^{Poll-Taxes.} the finances of Ireland during the reign of William, which it is necessary to take notice of in this place, is the establishment of poll-taxes, which, from the decay of trade, were supposed to be the most likely means of raising a revenue. They were tried about the same period in England and Scotland, but after a short experience of their inefficacy, so obnoxious and unproductive a system was abandoned^b in the three kingdoms.

QUEEN

^{*} In Howard's Treatise on the Exchequer of Ireland, chapter 22. vol. 1. p. 229. there is a long account of the steps taken regarding these forfeitures, to which the reader is referred.

^b By the first act (7 Will. 3. cap. 15.) all persons of what age, sex, or condition soever, (excepting the wives of day-labourers, their sons under eighteen years of age, and their daughters living with their parents; also widows not liable in hearth-

QUEEN ANNE.

It appears from the journals of parliament, that the income of Ireland exceeded £.500,000 *per annum* during the earlier part of this monarch's reign. During the later years of her government, however, it did not prove quite so productive, but it is difficult to calculate the exact annual produce, as the accounts are drawn up, sometimes for a longer, and sometimes for a shorter period¹, nor was it thought necessary to state them annually, as

hearth-money, and those living upon alms), were taxed one shilling *per* head, which, by a succeeding act (9 Will. 3. cap. 8.), was raised to two shillings. Batchelors of thirty years of age, and upwards, and traders, non-freemen, were charged double. Besides these general rates, certain taxes were imposed on every person in proportion to his rank, according to the following table.

			Elder son.	Younger son.
Every Archbishop	-	£. 50 }	30 0	25 0 0
Duke	-	50 }	25 0	20 0 0
Marquis	-	40	20 0	15 0 0
Earl	-	30	17 10	13 6 8
Viscount	-	25	15 0	12 0 0
Baron and Bishop	-	20		

The other rates need not be mentioned, the whole plan proving inefficient.

¹ Clarendon, in his *Sketch of the Revenue and Finances of Ireland*, p. 39. states, that in consequence of a long adjournment, the committee of accounts were prevented from making any report for 1713.

the Irish parliaments were then assembled only once every two years ; indeed, no alteration in that respect took place till the year 1784.

STATE of the Income of Ireland for six Years
preceding 1709.

Year.	Page of the Journals.		Annual Amount.
1703	Appendix to vol. 2.	p. 131	£. 530,579 0
1704	_____	132	543,441 0
1705	_____	146	562,091 0
1706	_____	Ditto	577,800 0
1707	_____	148 and 178	588,670 0
1708	_____	Ditto	428,656 0
			6) 3,231,237 0
Average			£. 538,539 10

In the speech addressed by the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant, to the first parliament assembled by Queen Anne, he observes, (after recommending fortifications and barracks to their attention), “ But that which Her Majesty expects at this time, is *only* that the public debts “ be discharged, and the revenue made equal to “ the expence of the government*.” It is a singular circumstance therefore, that the committee of accounts for 1709 and 1710, should find a balance for the first year, of above £.71,000, and for the second year, of above £.11,000, in favour of the nation¹: a full proof that the finances of Ireland were

* Commons Journals, vol. 2. p. 315.

¹ Commons Journals, vol. 2. Appendix, cap. 158 and 227.

then managed with some degree of attention and economy.

GEORGE I.

The revenue of Ireland during the reign of George I. did not materially differ from that of his predecessor. The gross income for two years, ending 25th March, 1723, amounted to £.1,242,815, but the net produce only to £.939,619^a, or at the rate £.469,809 *per annum*.

The most remarkable event connected with the financial and commercial circumstances of the country, during this monarch's reign, was an application for the establishment of a bank, in 1720, and the steps which were taken by parliament regarding the sameⁿ.

It is not known who was the author of this proposal, but it was entered into by the Earl of Abercorn, and several other Lords and gentlemen of Ireland with great zeal; and they stated in their application, that the principal cause which induced them to attempt such an undertaking, "was

^a Commons Journals, vol. 3. p. 234.

ⁿ As far back as the 17th September 1695, a petition was presented to the House of Commons from several merchants of the city of Dublin, suggesting the propriety of establishing a perpetual fund for the improvement both of lands and traffic. Commons Journals, vol. 2. p. 63. The only step taken regarding this petition was, to refer it to the committee of trade.

“ the great scarcity of coin which then every day
 “ increased, and the general interruption of all
 “ manner of commerce, which such a scarcity
 “ must necessarily occasion.” They applied, there-
 fore, for liberty to erect a bank, with a capital of
 £.500,000.

The papers regarding this undertaking are cu-
 rious, and are fortunately preserved in the Jour-
 nals of the Irish parliament*. The establishment
 of this bank was even recommended in a speech
 from the throne†. But the commons, upon a di-
 vision of 150 to 80, resolved, “ That this house,
 “ after long and mature deliberation, cannot find
 “ any safe foundation for establishing a public
 “ bank, so as to render it beneficial to this king-
 “ dom‡.” They also resolved, “ that the erecting
 “ or establishing of a public bank in this kingdom
 “ will be of the most dangerous and fatal conse-
 “ quence to his majesty’s service, and the trade
 “ and liberties of the nation.” They next came to
 a resolution, “ to beseech his majesty, out of his
 “ tender concern for the good of all his subjects,
 “ to deliver them from the apprehensions they lay
 “ under of the power and influence of a public
 “ bank, if once erected;” and to crown the
 whole, they resolved, “ That if any member of
 “ the house, or commoner of Ireland, shall pre-
 “ sume to solicit, or endeavour to procure, any

* See Commons Journals, vol. 3. Append. p. 200, &c.

† Ditto, vol. 3. p. 247.

‡ Ditto, p. 289.

“ grant, or to get the great seal put to any charter, for erecting a public bank, contrary to the declared sense and resolutions of this house, he shall incur their highest displeasure, and be deemed to act in contempt of the authority of this house, and *an enemy to his country*.”

Nothing can exceed the violence and absurdity of such proceedings, which can only be justified by the terror which the failure of the South Sea schemes in France and England had excited in all the neighbouring countries¹.

GEORGE II.

During the reign of this monarch, very particular accounts are preserved in the journals of parliament, of the income and expenditure of Ireland; and it has been justly observed, that “ by a display of the produce of the several duties, in a regular succession of years, a better knowledge may be gained of the state of the country, and fairer deductions made as to the operations of government in the revenue department, than from any partial statement or comparison of distant periods².”

¹ The reader who may be desirous of examining this subject more minutely, may consult Clarendon's Sketches, p. 95. and Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. 2. p. 305.

² See Clarendon's Sketches of the Revenue of Ireland, p. 44. In the tables annexed to that work, the reader will find abstracts of the different public accounts, extracted from the journals.

The most material circumstance which took place whilst George II. sat upon the throne, in so far as regards the present subject, was the accumulation of a considerable surplus fund, amounting to no less a sum than £.471,404, which remained entirely unappropriated, and consequently at the disposal either of the crown or of the parliament. This redundancy of Treasure occasioned much mischief. The accumulation, instead of being employed for purposes of real national improvement, the benefit of which would have been felt for ages, was almost entirely wasted in grants, ostensibly for public, but, in fact, devoted to private purposes: This system was so little concealed, that the committee of supply, in which these jobs originated, was emphatically called, "*the scrambling committee*;" and, it is said, that the system of profusion that was thus established, and that laxity of principles in regard to the public expenditure, which was thus introduced, in a great measure has occasioned that load of debt, under the pressure of which Ireland now suffers.

GEORGE III.

The progress of the Irish Revenue during the reign of the sovereign now upon the throne, can-

It was a point much contested, whether the right of disposing of this surplus was legally vested in the King or in the Parliament, and many violent pamphlets were written upon both sides of the question. It was called the question about the *previous consent*. See De Lolme on the Union, p. 60.

not be minutely detailed in a work of this nature. It may be sufficient to observe, that at the commencement of his reign, in 1760, the gross produce of the duties and taxes for that and the succeeding year (for the accounts of the Irish finances were then biennial), amounted to £.1,463,180, or at the rate of £.731,590 *per annum*. The financial circumstances of Ireland, however, at the time of the Union, will require to be more particularly explained.

The following is the state of the Revenue for ten years, ending 25th March 1800.

Year ending 25th March 1791	£. 1,190,684
1792	1,172,332
1793	1,107,940
1794	1,067,004
1795	1,355,181
1796	1,376,980
1797	1,527,628
1798	1,645,714
1799	1,861,471
1800	2,684,261
	<hr/>
	£. 14,989,195
	<hr/>
Average	£. 1,498,919
	<hr/>

The general expences of Ireland, independent of military charges, amounted in 1799, to the following sums :

1. Civil

1. Civil List	-	-	£.	143,096
2. Pensions	-	-		110,433
3. Permanent parliamentary grants				154,769
4. Annual parliamentary grants				225,306
				<hr/>
				633,604
5. Military expences, <i>anno</i> 1799				4,958,208
				<hr/>
			Total	<u>£. 5,591,812</u>

This great expenditure does not include the interest of the national debt, of which the following is an account, as it stood on the 25th March 1800.

1. Principal of the debt	£.	25,662,640	0	0
2. Amount of capital redeemed		339,863	16	0
3. Annual interest	-	1,136,563	11	1
4. Interest of the capital purchased		16,993	3	9
5. Sinking fund	-	252,690	3	4
6. Management	-	6,500	0	0
7. Total charges	-	1,395,753	14	5

It was attended with considerable difficulty to adjust the principles on which the expenditure of the two islands, independent of the interest of the national debt, to which they were respectably liable, ought to be regulated after the Union. It was at last determined, that the expenditure of the united kingdom, for the space of twenty years after the union, should be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland. At the expiration of the said twenty

N 4

years,

years, the future expenditure shall be defrayed, in such proportion as the united parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon certain data therein mentioned; which proportions may be revised at periods, not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years from each other; unless previous to any such period, the united parliament shall have declared, that the general expences of the empire, shall be defrayed indiscriminately: by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries".

Thus sufficient latitude is given to the discretion of the future legislatures of the united empire; whose power, in this respect, I trust will never be abused to the oppression of the inferior kingdom.

Bank of
Ireland,

This reign has been distinguished by the establishment of a bank, the idea of which had formerly been so loudly reprobated by the Irish House of Commons.

The first act passed in favour of this institution, was in the year 1781-2. The original capital was only £.600,000, and the privileges which it obtained were to cease on twelve months' notice after 1st January 1794^{*}. By an after act[†] the capital was encreased to £.1,000,000, and the term enlarged to the first January 1816; and by a third act[‡], without prolonging the term, power was

* See Address and resolutions of the two houses of parliament in Ireland, ordered to be printed, 2d April 1800.

† 21 and 22 Geo. 3. c. 16.

‡ 31 Geo. 3. c. 22.

§ 37 Geo. 3. c. 50.

given

given to increase the capital to £. 1,500,000, at which sum it now stands.

The importance of this corporation to the circulation and the pecuniary resources of Ireland, will appear sufficiently evident from an account of the notes issued by it, which has been, at various periods laid before parliament; the propriety of which issue, however, to the extent it has reached, has occasioned considerable discussion^a.

On the first of January 1797, the notes in circulation amounted only to £.621,917 : 6 : 4, including Bank Post Bills; whereas on the first of January 1803, the Bank had issued to the amount of £.2,623,752 : 16 : 1, making a difference of above £.2,000,000, in the short period of six years^b. This great increase of paper, certainly originated from the privilege it obtained in 1797, of being exempted from the payment of its notes, and other demands upon it, in cash. So great an addition to the circulating medium of the country, may have occasioned some disadvantages in regard to the exchange, and may have rendered the price of provisions higher than otherwise would have been the case; but there can hardly be a doubt, that it is infinitely better, to have an extended, than a cramped cir-

^a See a very ingenious pamphlet, written on this subject by Lord King, entitled "Thoughts on the Restriction of Payments in Specie, &c. &c." To which Mr. Boase the banker, has written an able, and to me, a satisfactory answer.

^b See Accounts respecting the Bank of Ireland, ordered to be printed, 15th December 1803.

culation ;

ulation ; for in the latter case, the whole country, (a few misers alone excepted), must be distressed, and neither agriculture, commerce, nor revenue can flourish. In fact, the circulating medium of a country ought always to increase with the demand ; and it may often happen, that such a kingdom as Ireland, may feel the most serious and alarming distress throughout every corner of it, yet by the creation of £.1,000,000 of paper, and its circulation from one hand to another, the whole country may at once experience all the advantages and comforts of pecuniary abundance*.

2. Present state of the Revenue of Ireland.

When the Union was established between the two kingdoms, the revenue of Ireland was divided into the following branches, namely. 1: The hereditary or ordinary revenue, including casualties. 2. The stamps. 3. The post-office ; and 4. Loan duties applicable to defray the interest of the money borrowed. Since the Union, however,

* There is some reason to doubt, at the same time, whether this great increase of paper has been legally issued by the bank of Ireland. By 21 and 22 Geo. 3. c. 16. it was declared, that the bank shall not borrow, or give security, by bill, bond, *note*, covenant, or agreement, under their common seal, or otherwise, for any sum exceeding £.600,000, or the original capital ; and a clause to a similar effect, though not in the same precise words, was included in the posterior acts already quoted. How then can the bank of Ireland legally issue, as it does at present, nearly £.3,000,000 ; (for on 1st October 1803 its notes amounted to £.2,781,841 : 17 : 3½.) with a capital of only £.1,500,000, which it ought not to exceed.

the

the public accounts of Ireland are laid before parliament, drawn up in a manner similar to those of Great Britain; and, as in a former part of this work, the British accounts were stated for the year 1803, I think it, on the whole, most advisable, (that the reader may be better enabled to compare the financial circumstances of the two islands), to give a general view of the income, the debt, and the expenditure of Ireland for the same period.

General View of the income of Ireland for the year ending 5th January 1803.

I. Ordinary Revenues.

Branch.	Gross Income.			Rate of Collection.			Net Produce.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. Customs - -	2,041,613	11	8½	-	-	-	3,031,040	2	11½
2. Excise - -	1,805,105	7	6½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	3,846,718	19	3½	8	14	4½	-	-	-
3. Stamps - -	211,417	13	4½	10	14	6½	183,116	18	10
4. Post Office - -	102,518	16	11	50	13	2	40,676	9	3½
5. Poundage fees - -	44,072	1	1½	-	-	-	44,072	1	1½
6. Pells fees - -	8,814	5	9	-	-	-	8,814	5	9
7. Wrought plate - -	1,976	5	11	-	-	-	1,976	5	11
8. Casualties - -	4,597	2	2	-	-	-	4,597	2	2
	4,220,125	4	6½	-	-	-	3,314,293	6	1½

2. Extraordinary Resources.

1. 4s. Tax on salaries -	2,981	5	1½	-	2,981	5	1½
2. Sale of quit rents -	20	10	-	-	20	10	-
3. Public coal-yards -	1,780	-	-	-	1,780	-	-
4. Seamen's wages -	22,236	17	6	-	22,236	17	6
5. Corn sold -	7,106	15	7½	-	7,106	15	7½
6. Gained by exchange -	34,780	13	9½	-	34,780	13	9½
7. Other monies paid the public	5,568	16	11½	-	5,568	16	11½
8. Shares of British lotteries	499,416	13	4	-	499,416	13	4

3. Appropriated Duties.

Duties appropriated for the linen manufacture, and other local objects - -	17,288	13	3½	-	17,288	13	3½
	4,811,305	10	1½	-	3,906,128	9	4

On

On this short statement of the revenue of Ireland, the following observations will naturally occur.

1. It seems to be an exceptionable part of the plan, to confound, both the income, and the expence of collecting, the customs and the excise, in one account. On various grounds it would be preferable, to keep these branches perfectly distinct.

2. As the total net permanent and annual revenue of Ireland, for the year ending 25th March 1799, was only £.1,860,797 : 1 : 0½, and as it was increased in the year 1803, to £.3,906,122 : 9 : 4, it is evident, that every exertion is making, to raise such a revenue in that country, as will enable it to defray its own expenditure, and, if possible, to add to the general resources of the empire.

3. Some time will probably elapse, before it is possible to identify the duties payable in the two kingdoms, so as to make the empire, in regard to finance, *one whole*, with only one exchequer, one income, and one expenditure. Nothing is likely to bring such a plan to bear, but a diminution of the taxes in England, which can only be the consequence of a very considerable reduction of the national debt. But though such a plan cannot for some time be extended to every branch of the revenue, yet it would be desirable, as opportunities may occur, to assimilate the duties in the two islands as much as possible, so as to lessen the difficulty, when the period happily arrives.

Lastly, the expence of collecting the revenue, seems to be proportionally higher in Ireland, than in England, or even Scotland. This, however, is probably owing to the position of Ireland, (which renders it better calculated for the operations of the smuggler), and to the necessity of employing a number of officers, to collect a revenue, from a numerous body of people, hitherto not much accustomed to the pressure of taxation^d.

III. Origin and progress of the debts of Ireland.

The government of Ireland was occasionally indebted in small sums not exceeding from one, to four hundred thousand pounds, at different periods, from the year 1715, to the year 1749, but about that time, instead of a debt, it had saved a considerable surplus, amounting to about half a million. Means, however, were soon fallen upon to get rid of this uncommon species of incumbrance.

^d By the public accounts of Great Britain ending 5th January 1804, the expence of collection is stated as follows;

Customs	{ England £.4 : 19 : 2 } Scotland 8 : 0 : 0 }	Great Britain £.5 : 3 : 8
Excise	{ England 3 : 1 : 1 } Scotland 7 : 11 : 0 }	3 : 8 : 7
Stamps	{ England 3 : 3 : 10 } Scotland 5 : 7 : 0 }	3 : 6 : 6
Post-office	{ England 24 : 12 : 6 } Scotland 12 : 19 : 8 }	23 : 6 : 7

Which in every instance is less than that of Ireland.

The

The present debt properly commenced in the year 1761, and its progress, for some time, as appears from the following statement, was very slow indeed, compared to the rapid strides which it has since taken.

Progress of the national debt of Ireland.

Debt anno	1761	-	-	£.	223,438
	1771	-	-		773,320
	1781	-	-		1,551,704
	1791	-	-		2,464,590
	1797	-	-		7,082,256
	1798	-	-		11,059,256
	1799	-	-		17,466,540
	1800	-	-		25,662,640
January	1801	-	-		31,950,656
	1802	-	-		36,464,461
	1803	-	-		40,663,532
	1804	-	-		44,749,325

So rapid an addition to the debt of Ireland, (which its own resources could not furnish, for the greater part of it has been borrowed in England, on the guarantee of the British treasury), however necessary it might be, during the extensive war in which the empire at large was so lately engaged, in consequence of, either the situation of Ireland, which exposed it so much to the attacks of the enemy, or that spirit of disaffection, which rendered a great military force there doubly necessary; yet, on the whole, it cannot fail to be
a subject

a subject of regret, as the taxes necessary to defray the interest of the money borrowed, must contribute to check the industry, and discourage the improvement, of that valuable part of the empire.

In regard to the progressive amount of the interest of the national debt, the following statement will explain the extent thereof, in so far as is necessary for our present purpose.

Account of the annual interest and other charges, including the sinking fund, of the debt of Ireland.

Charges, &c. &c. An. 1791	£. 142,716
1797	525,044
1798	767,661
1799	1,040,120
1800	1,395,753
1801	1,696,437
1802	1,874,520
1803	2,040,201
1804	2,217,451

It only remains, under this general head, to give a short account of the steps which have hitherto been taken for redeeming these incumbrances.

The debt of Ireland is partly due in that country, and partly in England, the proportion of each will be seen from the following statement.

State

State of the debt due by the Irish government.

Where due.	Principal.	Interest.
1. Total debt due in England anno 1804.	29,735,333	1,305,926
2. Debt due in Ireland.	15,013,992	911,525
Total £.	44,749,325	2,217,451

At the establishment of the Irish sinking fund, £.100,000 *per annum* was granted for extinguishing the debts then existing, of which £.32,364 : 11 : 8 was appropriated to the reduction of the debt borrowed for Ireland by the British government, anno 1797, and the remaining £.67,695 : 8 : 4, with £.2250 *per annum* of expired annuities, was directed to be employed in extinguishing the debt due in Ireland itself. In both, a considerable progress has been made. Of the English debt, the sum of £.1,595,671, was redeemed on the first of January 1804, and is now accumulating at compound interest. A proportional reduction is made in the debt that was raised in Ireland. It is evident, that such sums vary almost daily in their amount, and are continually increasing.

IV. A view of the expenditure of Ireland for one year, ending 5th January 1803.

The expenditure of Ireland is now divided into two branches. The first consists of those charges to which it is separately liable ; the second includes those to which it is subject jointly with Great Britain.

It

It may be proper first to state them distinctly, then to join them both together, and, lastly, to conclude with such observations as may arise from the consideration of the whole account.

I. Separate charges of Ireland.

1. Interest and charges of the national debt, anno 1803	-	1,924,509	4	3
2. Interest on Exchequer Bills	-	91,768	6	0
3. Issues for grants prior to the Union	-	2,212,628	3	8½
4. Funds appropriated for local purposes	-	10,432	2	8
		<u>£.</u>	<u>4,239,337</u>	<u>16 7½</u>

The following statement explains the manner in which the sum, appropriated for the interest and charges of the national debt was then divided.

1. Total on account of interest	-	1,445	753	12	0
2. Ditto for charges of management	-	14,556	15	8	
3. Ditto for the reduction of the national debt	-	464,198	16	7	
		<u>£.</u>	<u>1,924,509</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>

The payments made for grants prior to the Union was as follows:

1. Relief of suffering Loyalists	-	30,363	13	0
2. Union compensation	-	760,132	19	1½
3. Grant for inland navigations	-	12,000	0	0
4. Lottery prizes	-	300,044	0	0
5. Principal of Exchequer Bills	-	1,091,400	0	0
6. Discount on prompt payment of loan deposits	-	15,687	11	7½
		<hr/>		
	£.	2,212,628	3	8½

The expences in which Great Britain and Ireland, in conformity to the articles of the Union, are jointly concerned, for the year ending 5th January 1803, were as follows:

II. Joint Expences with Great Britain.

1. Civil List	-	-	131,760	6	6½
2. Pensions	-	-	118,076	4	8½
3. Other permanent charges	-	-	289,995	17	4½
4. Bounties	-	-	34,432	10	7
5. Militia and deserters' warrants	-	-	1,579	1	6
6. Ordnance	-	-	155,000	0	0
7. Army	-	-	2,237,901	7	2½
8. Extraordinaries of the army	-	-	319,651	7	10½
9. Miscellaneous services	-	-	288,701	17	1½
			<hr/>		
			3,577,598	12	10
Add the separate expences	-	-	4,239,337	16	7½
			<hr/>		
Total £.			7,816,936	9	6½
			<hr/>		

The following are the only articles in the preceding accounts which seem to require any particular observation.

On the subject of the national debt, and the charges attending it, there is little to be remarked; nor on any of the articles contained in the first account, excepting the Union compensation, the particulars of which are not explained.

In regard to the second account, namely, the expences in which Great Britain and Ireland are jointly concerned, a member of the British legislature, is better entitled to discuss their propriety, being

being more interested in that branch of the Irish expenditure.

The civil list, and the Irish pension list, amounted, that year, to £.249,836 : 11 : 3½, a sum considerably greater in proportion, than the same articles ever came to in Scotland, though formerly the subject of much abuse. As these branches, as far back as the year 1791, amounted to £.254,924 : 5 : 9½, it is more than probable that about such a sum is necessary, though, perhaps, were the accounts nicely scrutinized, some particular charges inserted therein might be objected to.

The head of permanent charges contains a number of articles, which do not require any particular remark; as public infirmaries, public coal-yards, &c. The police establishment is stated at £.15,521 : 8 : 8½. As that measure was much opposed when it was originally brought forward, it might be advisable occasionally to enquire, how far the grants have been properly expended, and whether the measure answers the purposes for which it was at first established.

In regard to bounties, the following articles require some observation.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Bounty on corn exported | £.11,150 : 6 : 11½ |
| 2. Ditto on corn imported | 6,725 : 15 : 0 |

There must be some defect in the laws regarding the exportation and importation of corn, when there could be, in the same year, bounties so extremely

contradictory. Under the head of miscellaneous services also, £.200 is granted to the examiner of corn bounties, for keeping the accounts of his office; and £.800 to the paymaster of the corn bounties, for his attendance, care, and expence, in that department.

The branch of miscellaneous services, is the one which most generally calls for animadversion; and it is certain that there are some articles in it, not usual in the expenditure of the British government, as £.5833: 10: 2½ for defraying the charge of a Lock Hospital, £.18,487 for supporting a house of industry, &c. such expences being usually defrayed by private subscription in England. But though this may be effected by the charitable contributions of individuals, in so wealthy a country, yet in Ireland, where the same opulence does not exist, similar exertions cannot be expected; and, consequently, public assistance may be necessary. Such grants therefore must be continued; frequent enquiries however ought to be made regarding the manner in which the sums voted are actually expended.

It is with much satisfaction that I observe in the Irish accounts, a considerable sum devoted to the purposes of agricultural and other beneficial improvements. The grants for the year 1803 were as follows:

1. To the Dublin Society, for promoting husbandry and other useful arts	£. 5,500 0 0
2. To ditto for completing additional buildings at their repository and gardens	- 4,500 0 0
Carried over	10,000 0 0

	Brought over	£.	10,000 0 0
3. For promoting the purposes of the Farming Society	-	-	2,000 0 0
			<hr/>
			12,000 0 0
4. For encouraging the linen and hempen manufacture	-	-	21,600 0 0
			<hr/>
		£.	33,600 0 0
			<hr/>

Any person who knows the difficulty of obtaining such grants from the British parliament, will observe with pleasure the liberality of the Irish legislature; and fortunately for the improvement of that country, it was declared by the articles of the Union, "that a sum, not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of the last six years, as premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied, for the period of twenty years after the Union, to such local purposes, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct." It can hardly be doubted, after the experience we have had of the successful exertions carried on by the British board of agriculture, that even moderate sums, when properly expended, in promoting a spirit of improvement, and diffusing the knowledge necessary for that purpose, may be productive of the most important consequences.

Mode of
examining
the public
accounts.

V. Observations on the system adopted by the Irish parliament, for examining the public accounts.

It has often been remarked, that the laws and regulations established in small states, are in general wiser, and better calculated to obtain the ends in view, than those of an extensive empire; and, as one proof among many others which might be adduced to support the justness of that observation, it may be remarked, that the system adopted in Ireland, prior to the union, for passing the public accounts, seems to be infinitely preferable to the one which took place in the British parliament. In the latter case, a supply was voted, without any previous inquiry regarding the necessity thereof, and a number of accounts were called for, which were detailed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in what was called *his budget*; whereas, in Ireland, the following more regular system was pursued,

In the first place, certain accounts, properly arranged, of the expences of government; and the produce of every branch of the revenue, were annually laid before the house of commons. As soon as these were produced, a committee was appointed to inspect them, and to report their opinion thereon, with power to appoint sub-committees, that the accounts, if necessary, might be more minutely examined. When the report of the committee, accompanied with the accounts therein referred to, was presented, it was ordered

to lie upon the table for the perusal of the members, soon after it was referred to the committee of supply; and then the house resolved, after evidence of the necessity thereof, "*that a supply be granted to His Majesty.*"

This plan is certainly preferable to the one adopted in the British parliament, which has been already explained. Its superiority appeared so evident to the Irish house of commons, that it became a standing order of the house, "*that no money bill be read until the report from the committee of accounts be first made.*" This previous examination was a great check upon improvident expences, and with such authentic documents to refer to, the members could reason with more advantage on the financial circumstances of the nation, than could be done from loose and undigested documents, or the harangue of any minister, however distinctly stated.

This excellent plan was first adopted in 1692, when the ordinary revenue of the crown being found inadequate to the public expenditure, a supply was necessarily applied for. It was then resolved, "*that the state of the revenue of the nation, and also the establishments civil and military, should be laid before the house, in order that it may the better be known, what supplies were necessary to be given.*" The system has

* Comm. Journ. vol. iv. p. 297, 19th October 1739.

Ibid. vol. ii. p. 16, 14th October 1692.

ever since been observed, with hardly any omission, even in the earlier stages of its progress; and latterly it has been adhered to with the strictest possible attention^a.

Advantages
of the union.

VI. Observations on the union between the two kingdoms, and the advantages likely to be derived from it.

The British islands seem to have been formed by nature, for the seat of one great and powerful empire. Though separated from each other by the sea, yet the channel is in different places narrow, and at any rate, from the improvements which have been made in the art of navigation; such an obstacle to a regular intercourse has become of no material consequence¹. Were the two countries under distinct sovereigns, perpetual rivalry, and probably endless wars, would be the necessary consequence. The states on the continent would naturally endeavour to keep up animosities between them; and in particular, would

^a The public accounts of Ireland, were originally brought into regular order by Mr. Burgh, accountant general in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, who seems to have had a peculiar turn for financial details. Howard's *Treatise on the Exchequer*, vol. ii. p. 237. Clarendon's *Sketch of the Revenue of Ireland*, p. 27 note.

¹ Indeed the author of this work, must surmount more difficulties, in travelling from the county of Caithness, where his property is situated, to London, than will fall to the lot of any Irish gentleman, who may be elected by the freeholders or burgesses of Ireland, to represent them in the imperial parliament.
have

have thought it for their interest, to support the weaker against the stronger power. Had a separation existed at this time, the new ruler of France in particular, would undoubtedly have taken advantage of such a circumstance, and would have attempted to have brought both under his subjection: whose force they are now enabled to resist, because they are united. It is hardly possible, therefore, to question the advantage of having the two islands governed by one common head or sovereign.

But though a union of crowns was universally approved of by all those who sincerely wished to promote the prosperity, and to preserve the independence of Great Britain and Ireland, yet when a more intimate union was proposed, and a consolidation of governments was attempted; various objections were made to the proposal, and it must be confessed, that the measure was liable to some obstacles, though none of them, it is believed, could fairly stand the test of any minute investigation.

The British constitution, it was contended by some, who considered the union as inconsistent with the interests of Great Britain, was so nicely balanced, that it was impossible to foresee what might be the consequence of any great addition to the number, either of the representatives of the people, or of the peers in parliament. It might, on the one hand, either too much increase the influence of the crown, or, on the other hand, throw too great a proportion of power into the hands of the people.

The

The admission of a number of persons from another country also, might be the means of introducing new principles of a pernicious nature, and might tend to give them a degree of currency and support, from which very dangerous consequences might be apprehended. In short, the same objections which were urged against a union with Scotland, by the Tories in the reign of Queen Anne, were hinted at when the Irish union was brought forward. As former predictions, however, to the same effect, have fortunately proved groundless in a former instance, there is the less reason to dwell on theoretical arguments, when we can appeal to experience as a sufficient refutation. But granting that there exists some risk from the circumstances above alluded to, yet it seems to be sufficiently counterbalanced by the advantages to be derived from a union on the part of England. That country having obtained an important addition to its wealth and strength, (which will hardly be disputed), by its union with Scotland, is it not more than probable, that the same advantages will be acquired by Great Britain, from a similar connexion with Ireland? The advantages of a consolidation of governments, particularly in times of war, are great and numerous. A government has more confidence in itself, and is more the object of apprehension to its enemies, when it has one, instead of various legislatures to consult with, and two instead of five houses of parliament, which would have been the case, had the three kingdoms continued
separa-

Separated^k. More wisdom and ability also, is to be expected from two great assemblies than from a number of small ones, and more confidence would be placed in the representatives of fifteen than of eleven millions of people.

A union between two countries, the one inferior to the other in population, in riches, and in power, is most apt to be objected to on the part of the weakest; apprehensive of losing its consequence, its capacity of self-government, and of being considered, not as an independent country, but as a mere provincial district, liable to have its rights, its laws, and liberties overturned at the caprice of another. I shall, therefore, proceed to consider the advantages of such a union to Ireland, and the objections which were urged against it on the part of that country.

In regard to the advantages of such a union to the natives of Ireland, it can hardly be doubted, that they would enjoy all the benefits of political society, in greater perfection, by such a union, than if they had continued, in what is called an independent state in point of legislation; and still more so, than if they were entirely separated from Great Britain.

The first advantage of a political nature, to which every subject of a regular government is intitled, is this, that his person, his property, and his rights

^k The Scotch parliament, both lords and commons, assembled and voted in the same house; hence, if the three kingdoms had remained disunited, there would have been but five instead of six legislative assemblies.

shall

shall be protected by the laws and ordinances of his country, from the attacks of every other individual of that community to which he belongs. This is an advantage which, prior to the union, was not possessed to the same extent in Ireland as it was enjoyed in England and Scotland. This is a sufficient proof of the superiority of our situation at that time over our Irish brethren, and the prospect they have, when the union is fully established, of enjoying the same advantages in equal perfection, cannot but appear of the most essential consequence to the most careless observer.

The second advantage is, that the foreign interests of every individual in Ireland must be promoted by such an union; that under the protection of the united government, he can navigate the seas in safety, can transport his property to other countries, can dispose of it there under the safeguard of the state in whose dominions it is sold, and with all the benefit of those commercial stipulations which may have been entered into for that purpose; that his person and his property are in safety during his residence abroad, and that any injury to either, is revenged by a powerful nation. I ask any man of common understanding, whether these advantages could be enjoyed by a native of Ireland, to the same extent, independent of his connexion with the crown and people of Great Britain.

The third political advantage I shall touch upon is, the right to which every Irishman is entitled, to be protected from the ambition of neighbouring states,

stares, who might be led, from a desire of conquest or plunder, to invade the country where he resides, to annihilate all his rights, and to seize on all the possessions of which he was master. Here again I may ask, whether the assistance of Great Britain is not of the most essential consequence, as a means of protecting Ireland from such attacks?

I shall now proceed, briefly to consider some objections to this measure, which are urged on the part of Ireland.

The capital of that kingdom naturally apprehended a diminution of its population, wealth, and importance, from such an event. But such apprehensions are not justified by experience. Notwithstanding the union between England and Scotland, the city of Edinburgh, though no longer the seat of a separate government, yet is increasing and improving with rapid strides, and is likely to become one of the most elegant and flourishing capitals that Europe can boast of. And the inhabitants of Dublin, like those of Edinburgh, instead of depending upon those unproductive advantages arising from the mere expenditure of public money, (which, by the by, will always continue to a greater extent in Ireland than in Scotland), will probably apply to those other, and better means of procuring wealth, through the medium of industry and labour.

The terror of a numerous body of absentees, and of all the rents of Ireland being spent in Great Britain,

Britain, is another fertile source of popular apprehension; and, indeed, has long been a species of watch word among the Irish patriots. There again we may recur to the experience of Scotland, which has not suffered, notwithstanding its being exposed to what is held forth to be so ruinous a misfortune. In fact, such evils remedy themselves. The wealth of every part of a great kingdom finds its own level, according to the industry and productions of each separate district. If an Irish proprietor resides in London, he consumes there the produce of his estates, but that very circumstance, enables the merchants of London to purchase a greater quantity of the productions of Ireland, by which the industry of that branch of the empire is encouraged and increased. A century has almost elapsed, since Swift, and some other authors, who, like him, either felt a real, or affected an ardent zeal for the interests of that country, first pronounced, that an immediate stop to that source of ruin, as it was called, the money spent by absentees, was the only means that could save that country from destruction. No check has yet been enforced, and though the entire destruction of Ireland was long ago boldly predicted from that circumstance, yet probably it can now boast of a greater abundance of wealth, of every description, than at any former period of its history.

The courts of justice is another source of apprehension. But the expence of a few appeals,

to an impartial judicature, and an opportunity of submitting intricate causes, to the judgment of those eminent lawyers, on whose opinions the decision of the British house of peers depends instead of being a subject of regret, is justly considered, by many intelligent men, as a most material advantage, both in a commercial and in a legal point of view ; for it would never be expected, that any considerable portion of the credit, the capital, or the industry and commercial knowledge of England, could be transferred to Ireland, unless both kingdoms, in the last resort, were subject to the same judicature. In regard to the apprehensions of the Irish bar, that their profession would be ruined by a Union, there never was a more groundless idea, at least there is every reason to believe, that the profits of the Scotch bar has increased tenfold since the Union in 1707.

The last objection that can be adduced is, that the dignity and importance of Ireland will be diminished, by its being absorbed in Great Britain. If, however, a native of Ireland cannot be satisfied with the dignity and importance attached to the character of a British subject, it would be difficult to discover, where he could obtain a more honourable distinction.

It seems to me however a sufficient answer to all these objections, to consider the real state of Ireland at the moment when the Union was accomplished. Though the laws of that country were then in a great measure the same with those
of

of England, yet they were not so vigorously carried into execution; property there was not considered to be so safe; the rate of interest, from the want of capital, and the want of sufficient security, was higher; land sold at a cheaper rate, and there was every appearance of a more defective system of legislation. This leads me shortly to state, the advantages which Ireland will probably soon derive from the Union, in an agricultural point of view.

We shall suppose, that the rental of Ireland is five millions sterling *per annum*, and that land in that country, at the Union, was worth twenty years' purchase, the whole value of the property of Ireland cannot then be stated at more than a hundred millions; but if the same property, in consequence of a Union with Great Britain, becomes, as will soon be the case, worth thirty years' purchase, the value of the property of Ireland then rises to a hundred and fifty millions; and if, by the same measure, the interest of money is reduced from six to five *per cent.* by the union we have entered into with Ireland, we have in fact given a present to that country, of fifty millions sterling, and secured to its inhabitants a bounty of one *per cent.* on all their agricultural improvements; As a sufficient proof, that such events must be the result of the Union, I have only to appeal to the experience of Scotland, where land sells at thirty years' purchase and upwards, and where the interest of money never exceeds five *per cent.*

I have

I have thus stated, with as much conciseness as possible, some of the various arguments which induced me to vote in favour of the Union, when it was lately brought forward, and at last happily carried through. I have long considered it, to be a most advisable measure, for both countries to enter into, at all times; but, in consequence of the present state of Europe, it became doubly essential, not only for our sakes, but, I may also add, for the preservation and the existence of civilized society, and of rational freedom. It became absolutely necessary, in such times as these, to erect, if possible, an impregnable fortress, where we may protect ourselves from those scenes of rapacity and desolation, to which every part of the Continent is likely to be exposed. Great Britain and Ireland, knit together by an incorporated union, may stand for ever safe and independent; nor can any empire arise, or any confederacy be formed on the Continent, that can possibly injure it. Fifteen millions of people, living under a free and a happy government, and separated by the sea from every other power, must be the seat of arts, and of arms, the centre of commerce, of naval strength, of military prowess, of social comfort: in short, of every thing that can possibly promote, either the happiness of the individual, or the strength of a great community.

CHAP. IV.

Of the national Resources.

IT has unfortunately been too common a practice, for even respectable individuals, to lay before the public, very exaggerated accounts of the dangerous state of the national finances. The more our difficulties increased, the greater pleasure they seemed to take in announcing our situation to our enemies, in damping the exertions of those, by whose judgment and abilities alone we could possibly be extricated from the embarrassments in which we were involved, and in proving to what fatal lengths, even valuable characters may be led, in support of a favourite hypothesis.

As a person anxious to promote the honour and prosperity of my native country, I have uniformly entered my protest against the general tendency of such performances. Every attempt to assign a period, however remote, for the ruin of a large community, strikes me as highly impolitic. Nature has wisely rendered the existence of the individual uncertain, lest the fear of death should embitter his days, and discourage him in every pursuit, however great or laudable. What reason, then, can be assigned, why the order of nature should be reversed when empires are in question?

Dispirited

Dispirited nations, like dispirited individuals, are incapable of vigorous efforts to extricate themselves from danger: besides, the apprehension of evil is justly accounted more dreadful than its real existence.

Above all, such desponding ideas ought to be discountenanced in a country, which has long been conspicuous for popular discontent, during as flourishing circumstances as perhaps a nation ever knew. Whether this originates from the natural turbulence of a free people, or from the gloomy atmosphere that we breathe, certain it is, that the inhabitants of this island have, for this century past, been uniformly lamenting the miseries of their public situation; and the world has been stunned with perpetual prognostications, that immediate ruin was inevitable. Fortunately, however, debts and taxes, though not a little distressing when they become considerable, are not alone sufficient to effect the ruin of a nation; and there is still reason to hope, that as we now ridicule the ill-founded despondency of our ancestors, who imagined that incumbrances to the amount of fifty or a hundred millions, would reduce them to a state of bankruptcy, so our posterity will laugh at the folly, the ignorance, or the want of political skill and judgment, in the statesmen and politicians of these times, who presume to assert, that we have already totally exhausted our resources; and that the period is at last arrived, when the nation must
P 2. either

either destroy her debts, or her debts will destroy the nation ^a.

But as the best means of refuting such gloomy apprehensions, it is proposed to give a concise view of the financial resources which Great Britain still possesses, under the following general heads; namely, 1. **ÆCONOMICAL ARRANGEMENTS.** 2. **IMPROVEMENTS IN THE EXISTING REVENUE.** 3. **ADDITIONAL TAXES.** 4. **LUCRATIVE PROJECTS;** which the public may easily execute with considerable advantage.

1. **ÆCONOMICAL ARRANGEMENTS.**

Frugality, says *Cicero*, is the best source of revenue, both to individuals and to the public ^b. It is, unquestionably, the first principle that ought to be kept in view, in the management of the finances of a nation. Whilst money can be saved, either by cutting off unnecessary offices and gratuities, or by checking useless expences, no minister ought to apply for an augmentation of imposts. It is only by a strict and inviolable attention to such a system, that the rulers of a burdened people can

^a These sentiments were originally contained in the tract intitled, "Hints addressed to the Public, on the State of our Finances," published *anno* 1783; at which time the author was almost the only person in the kingdom who maintained that the resources of this country were adequate to the public necessities.

^b Optimum, et in privatis familiis et in republicis, vestigial est parsimonium. De Repub. 4.

flatter themselves that a nation will long remain in quiet subjection: for, nothing can be more galling to those who are oppressed and overloaded, than to see others wallowing in riches, extorted from them by the chicanery and artifices of finance, whilst they can but barely furnish themselves with the means of subsistence.

There is no point, in an œconomical view, of 1. Economy in the establishment at home. more real importance, or to which it will be more necessary for the nation in general to attend, than this, that our ministers, (when peace is again established), do not keep up a greater establishment than the country can with ease and certainty afford. Such attention is the more necessary, because, unless *parliament steadily interposes*, a minister can hardly resist the various attacks to which, from every quarter, he is exposed. Each servant of the crown, attentive only to his own department, and prejudiced in favour of its importance, is naturally desirous of employing, in that particular service, as much of the national income as he can; and each claim having some plausible pretensions to support it, there is reason to apprehend, that every demand may be too easily assented to, unless parliament either fixes upon some specific sum, beyond which the minister shall not be permitted to proceed, leaving the arrangement of the sum so fixed on to be divided among the different departments, as he may think proper to direct; or, unless the house ascertains the particular sum to be expended on each department.

The peace establishment comprehends the following branches: The navy—the army—the ordnance—the civil list—together with certain miscellaneous services.

Navy.

That a formidable navy ought to be kept up, even in time of peace, I am very ready to acknowledge: but I hope that its strength will consist more in having a number of ships ready for immediate service, than in a great body of seamen. On the supposition, however, that 20,000 seamen, including marines, are retained in pay, the wages and victualling of that number will not exceed £.1,040,000.

The remainder of our estimated naval expences is commonly divided into the ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary includes the salaries of the officers in the different yards, and the general expence of the establishment; together with the sums usually expended in building and repairing ships. The remainder of the building expences, stores, &c. is thrown together into the account of extraordinaries, which frequently contains the names of ships, and the sums they are to cost respectively, which are never expended for that purpose, whilst no mention is made of other vessels on which part of that very money is laid out. The proper mode of giving these accounts to parliament would be, for the ordinary account to state merely the expence of the establishment, the dock-yards, the salaries of the officers, the half-pay, and such other expences as can be ascertained,

tained. Whereas, the extraordinary should contain the whole estimate of what may be necessary for the building and repairing of the ships, the providing stores for that purpose, and all the uncertain naval expenditure. In that view, the ordinary of the navy may be calculated at £.300,000. *per annum*; and if £.660,000 is appropriated to the extraordinaries, these two sums, joined to the charge of 20,000 seamen, would make in all an expence of two millions *per annum*; which, if properly managed, would furnish us with the most formidable maritime force in Europe.

Our military expences are, with great propriety, *Army.* less popular than those which are laid out in the natural strength and bulwark of the country. It would be dangerous, however, to countenance prejudices against the army, that might discourage men of family, of character, and of merit, from making it a profession. The art of war is still in a gradual progress to greater perfection; and unless we reward, with some degree of liberality, the services of those who prosecute that art among ourselves, or who adopt and make known the improvements of other nations, we shall not be able long to retain the military character we have acquired among the states of Europe. It is a fact, however, which, were it necessary, it would not be difficult to prove, though it might require entering a good deal into detail, that £.1,200,000 *per annum*, frugally and properly expended, would support a military establishment, including a militia, suffi-

cient to form the basis of an army, which, when a new war takes place, might be able to contend, in the field, with the enemies of this country.

Ordnance. I know no means by which the confused extravagance of the ordnance department can be prevented, except by an explicit declaration, in parliament, that a larger sum than £.250,000 or £.300,000 at the utmost, is all that shall be expended in services of that nature. It does not proceed from any personal extravagance in those who of late years have been at the head of that department, that such loud complaints have been uniformly stated against the estimates they have produced; but the fact is, that progressive profusion is the very principle of a board of ordnance, Powder, and ball indeed, and all the appendages of artillery, are easily estimated, and may be kept within proper bounds; but to fortification there is no limit. One ditch is the fruitful parent of another; and when we think that we are completely defended, we find a thousand ramparts must yet be raised, before we can expect any advantage or protection from the works which have already been constructed.

Civil list. There is some reason to hope, that the civil list expences will be brought into such order, as may prevent any material excess in future. It will require, however, attention and œconomy on the part of government, and a firm and steady resolution in parliament, to resist any farther claim for an increase, should it be demanded. Indeed were the
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the income of the crown to prove too small, the deficiency ought to be made up by abolishing useless offices, of which many still remain, rather than by augmenting the public burdens, which are already so high.

The miscellaneous services are of a nature so various and discordant, that it is impossible, consistently with these short hints, to examine them with the accuracy that might be necessary. I must therefore recur to the old observation, that it would be proper for parliament to fix a particular sum, beyond which the minister of the day shall not be suffered to go; which sum, at a medium, ought not to exceed £,200,000 *per annum*.

The following would then be the full amount of the national expences, in time of peace, provided a wise and prudent system of œconomy were enforced in the different departments of the state:

STATE of the proposed PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.

1. The navy	-	£. 2,000,000
2. The army and militia	-	1,200,000
3. The ordnance	-	300,000
4. The civil list	-	900,000
5. Miscellaneous services	-	200,000

Total 4,600,000

Such is the sum for which an establishment sufficiently respectable might formerly have been kept

Additional
establishment.

kept up. But since the astonishing increase of the power of France, matters have greatly altered, and it is impossible to say, what extent of establishments may be necessary, if Europe should continue in its present state. At the same time, if the increased peace establishment is employed, in promoting the internal improvement of the country, the public would, in a great measure, be indemnified for the additional burden.

*Advantages
thereof.*

For instance, let us suppose that 20,000 additional seamen and marines are kept up. If they are employed in improving the harbours along our coasts, (an employment not inconsistent with their former occupation, and which would still keep up their attachment for the naval service), the commerce and fisheries of the country would thereby be so much increased, that the public will receive a sufficient compensation for the expence.

In the same manner, in regard to the army, If the extra peace establishment of 20,000 men is employed in making roads and canals, and extending the cultivation of the country, can there be any doubt, that the internal improvements, which would thence arise, would furnish an ample indemnification ?

* The additional body of artillery, which must also be kept up, may be of essential service, from their skill as engineers, in carrying on these important works, and in completing the survey of the kingdom, begun under the direction of the late general Roy.

It is impossible, indeed, to foresee what a height of prosperity this country might reach, if a permanent peace could be procured, and if such a plan were to be persevered in. The labour of 40,000 men, thus usefully employed, would, in a few years, make our coasts one regular succession of harbours, and would render every part of the kingdom accessible to the active and industrious. Thence improvements in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, the fisheries, mining, and every other source of national wealth, would be carried to a height, of which it is difficult at present to form an adequate idea: and thus, a peace establishment, which might otherwise be felt as a heavy burden, would actually become an essential benefit and even blessing to the country.

The English nation have long indulged a passionate desire of retaining fortresses or strong holds in the dominions of their neighbours. When Scotland was an independent kingdom, *Berwick upon Tweed* was considered as a place which it was essential for England to possess. It is well known with what earnestness Edward the Third persevered in his resolution of conquering *Calais*, and how much the loss of that inlet into France was bewailed in this country. The aspiring Cromwell, not satisfied with having obtained the possession of *Dunkirk*, had also planned the acquisition of *Elfsnore* and the castle of *Kronberg*, in hopes of enjoying a complete command of the trade in the Baltic. In the reign of Charles II.

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2. Economy in regard to our foreign possessions.

it was thought necessary to keep and garrison *Tangiers* for some years, with a view to the increase of our commerce in the Mediterranean, and as a check upon the corsairs of Barbary. *Minorca* was twice acquired; first, by arms from the Spaniards; and next, by treaty with the French, in exchange for *Belle-isle*, which had been conquered from that nation. And, though that island has since been lost, yet *Gibraltar* is still retained, as if it were an invaluable acquisition, which, on no consideration whatsoever, ought to be relinquished. To crown the whole, we have recently entered into a new war for the possession of the barren rock of *Malta*.

Having already given to the world, in a separate paper, what has occurred to me with regard to the propriety of retaining Gibraltar, it seems to be unnecessary to repeat observations which have already been made public^a. It is sufficient in general to remark in regard to that fortress, that it is a possession which costs us about two hundred thousand pounds in time of peace, and at least five hundred thousand pounds in time of war; that the retaining of that barren rock keeps up a rancorous spirit in the court of Spain, which might otherwise have become a sure and valuable ally; and perhaps renders us the general object of the

^a See "The Propriety of retaining Gibraltar, impartially considered," printed for J. Stockdale, anno 1783. The same system was very ably enforced, in the tract written by Dr. Kippis in defence of the last peace.

jealousy

jealousy of Europe; and that by giving it up to its natural proprietors, we might not only secure a faithful friend, and save considerable charges at present unnecessarily wasted, but might also acquire a sum of money, which, if expended in beneficial public purposes, in augmenting the sinking fund, or in encouraging the commerce and industry of the nation, might be productive of the happiest consequences. The whole establishment at Gibraltar, it is true, would not be saved; because, though that fortress were disposed of, we should be obliged to keep up a military force nearly equal to the present, and consequently the greater part of the troops now at Gibraltar must be elsewhere maintained: but it can hardly be doubted, that, by a judicious sale of that unprofitable possession, from two to three hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, at an average of peace and war, might either be saved to, or gained by, this country.

By extending the same principles to Canada, New Brunswick, and other colonies in America, not excepting the new settlement at Botany Bay, a saving might be made of considerable importance; and if the money thereby obtained were expended at home, it might be attended with perhaps greater national benefit, or at least with advantages of a more lasting and permanent nature.

A third economical resource will arise from a reduction of useless salaries and gratuities.

3. Diminution of salaries, pensions, &c.

Some steps have already been taken, by the various administrations who have lately guided the helm of public affairs, for lessening the sums which were swallowed up by the different departments of the state; and farther retrenchments have been suggested by the commissioners appointed for examining the public accounts, and by the select committee of finance, appointed in 1797, of which some advantage may be taken*. But, after all, little has been done, compared to what the public had reason to look for; and it is hardly to be expected that the nation will long support its present heavy load, without remonstrance or complaint, unless public œconomy is carried almost to a faulty excess. Perhaps, in the apprehensions of many, the measures which I am now about to hint at will bear that construction.

It is well known that the duty of sixpence *per pound* on pensions and salaries^f produces at present £.46,284 *per annum*, and, consequently, it must

* In their second report, the commissioners recommended the consolidation of the five inferior boards of revenue, the expence of only four of which exceeds £.70,000 a-year, and by which means perhaps £.30,000 *per annum* might be saved. On the 19th June. 1782, the house resolved, on the motion of Lord John Cavendish, to put these taxes under the management of one, or at most two boards of commissioners. Comm. Journ. vol. xxxviii. p. 1113. But that idea has not hitherto been carried into effect.

^f This tax was originally imposed *anno* 1721, as a fund for defraying the interest of a million borrowed to pay off the civil list debts in the reign of George I.

arise

arise from salaries, fees, and gratuities, to the amount of £.1,851,360².

This is a greater sum, by far, than the nation can well spare, in its present exhausted state, and might be considerably diminished, without encroaching upon the rewards to which the servants of the public may be justly entitled.

Unless an account of the offices liable to that tax were laid before parliament, it will be impossible to ascertain which of them might either be totally abolished, or the salaries and perquisites of which might bear a considerable diminution. In general, however, it may be remarked, that there are many offices in the exchequer, in the excise and customs, and other departments of the revenue; in the courts of law; in our colonies abroad, and in the military department at home; in the principality of Wales; the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall; within the purview of the court; and in the establishments of North Britain; that might either be totally taken away, or at least *sequestered* until the nation should be better able to maintain them; and by retrenching which, at least three hundred thousand pounds, out of £.1,851,360

² It is said that the land-tax, at the rate of four shillings in the pound, ought to be subtracted from this sum, but erroneously. It is certainly a deduction from the income of the public officer; but the deduction is for the behoof of the district where the officer resides, and does not increase the income of the state. The tax of a shilling in the pound, imposed by 31 Geo. II. cap. 22. and producing about £.30,000 *per annum*, ought, however, to be deducted.

might

might be saved to the public^a. It is farther to be remarked, that as nothing rendered the government of the commonwealth so popular, as the spirit with which the republican party devoted to the public service the income of offices to the amount of £.56,666 *per annum*, so the adoption of similar principles at this time would naturally rouse every latent spark of patriotism in the country, and enable us the better to bear the burdens to which we are subject^b.

Abolition of
bounties

The learned and respectable author of "The Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," has contended, that a considerable saving might arise, by abolishing those bounties which the spirit and principles of the mercantile system have established in this country^c: and per-

^a On the 9th of March 1778, a worthy member of the house, (Thomas Gilbert, Esq. representative for Litchfield) moved, that one fourth part of the net income of all offices under the crown, with certain exceptions, should be granted to his majesty, for carrying on the American war. Upon a division, 100 were in favour of the motion, and 82 against it. On the report next day, 141 were for, and 147 against the motion, which was accordingly lost. Comm. Journ. vol. xxxvi. p. 813. For other parliamentary proceedings, respecting taxes on places and pensions, see Parliamentary Register. *anno* 1780, vol. xv. p. 113. 129. 151. 167. 175, and 213; the Lords Protest, p. 181.; also, vol. xvii. p. 590; and the Debates, *anno* 1781, vol. iii. p. 359 and 360.

^b Half the salaries of all offices held by deputies might be sequestrated.

^c Book iv. chap. 5.

haps,

haps, in some instances, they have been carried too far, and hence have occasioned considerable expence to the public, without any essential advantage. But since our agriculture and commerce have so rapidly flourished under the encouragements which have been given to them, prudence will dictate a considerable degree of caution, in making any important alterations in a system which seems to have succeeded. To such public support we undoubtedly owe the art of making gunpowder, the whale fishery, and the establishment of many of our manufactures, those of silk and linen in particular. And, if ever Great Britain wishes to avail itself of its natural advantages for carrying on its fisheries on a great scale, it must be by similar encouragements judiciously, planned, and faithfully applied. Nor can it be doubted by any one, that the wealth of the country is better expended, in promoting industry, and inciting the people to activity and exertion, than in the carrying on of those destructive wars, by which its treasures have been wasted, without answering any beneficial purpose. At the same time, none can possibly object to the enactment of such additional checks, as may have a tendency to prevent those frauds and iniquitous practices, by which the revenue has not only been injured, but the important objects of such regulations have been too often defeated¹.

¹ By granting a bounty or drawback, solely upon the certificate of a British Consul, that the goods have been actually landed, there would be a great saving.

5. Economy
in the ma-
nagement of
the public
debts.

The proprietors of the different funds which constitute the national debt, possess this singular advantage, that not only their rents and annuities are collected for them without expence ; but that the very charges of distributing their property, and of protecting it from frauds of every kind, are all paid by the state. So long have the public creditors been accustomed to this peculiar and important benefit, that no alteration, imposing the burden upon them, can be attempted. But it is surely desirable, that the nation should be at as little expence as possible, in the management of its debts ; and the sum paid under that head to the officers of the exchequer, and to the different public companies, amounted, *anno* 1803, to £.244,000 *per annum*, is unquestionably extravagant. The only apology for such an expence arises, from the variety of stocks into which the public funds are at present divided : but if the national debt were more simplified, by uniting and consolidating the different funds, a saving of at least one half of the above sum might be made, without endangering the property of any individual creditor, or putting him to any additional trouble or expence ^a.

2. IM-

^a Were a real spirit of economy to pervade our whole expenditure, savings hardly to be credited, might be effected. In ruling the paper for the accounts of the different public offices, a saving of £.5,000 *per annum* might be made. Were the public to be supplied with paper and stationery by open contract, instead of the present mode of patent, that source of expence might be diminished to the amount of perhaps £.20,000 a-year.

2. IMPROVEMENTS in the EXISTING REVENUE.

Next to savings in the public expenditure, nothing deserves more to be attended to, than such improvements in the mode of levying the existing revenue

a year. 10 *per cent.* might be saved by clothing the army in plain white, instead of scarlet. Many *et ceteras* might be mentioned.

There is one other saving however, of which it may be proper to take some notice. It is well known, that very considerable sums of money have been laid out by the crown in purchasing plate and jewels. The following account will give some idea of the magnitude of this expence since the Revolution.

Expence of jewels during the reign of King William	£. 66,069
Expence of plate	- - - 102,843
Expence plate and jewels during the reign of Queen Anne (supposed)	- - - 100,000
During the first six years of the reign of George I. (supposed)	- - - 30,000
For four years, ending 25th March 1725, <i>per account</i> (See Com. Journals, vol. xx. p. 523.)	- - - 21,812
For 64 years, from 1725 to 1789, at an average of £.10,000 each year	- - - 640,000
	<hr/>
	£.960,724

A considerable part of this sum might have been saved. The practice of giving plate to our ministers at foreign courts, or to public officers at home, ought to be discontinued. It puts the country to great expence, without much benefit to them; as a great part of the price of the plate arises from the work-

revenue as may be productive of advantage to the state.

1. Regulations against smuggling.

The first and most essential improvement which will naturally occur to every discerning reader, is, to contrive the best means of suppressing the various frauds by which the revenue is injured, particularly on the importation of foreign commodities.

A strong propensity to evade the payment of public taxes, prevails in every country where high duties are imposed; and the best means of preventing such practices undoubtedly is, to diminish the duty so as to remove the temptation. But such a principle cannot be carried too far, particularly where a great income is required. Instead of multiplying taxes, however, it is undoubtedly wiser and more politic to establish such regulations as may render the imposts already granted as efficient as possible.

The trade of smuggling has lately received considerable checks by a variety of important regulations. But new-invented frauds, which the ingenuity of man is perpetually discovering, will

workmanship, or fashion. That expence is often made use of as an argument for preventing the change of ministers, which is often necessary, and seldomer detrimental to the state than is commonly supposed. Indeed, if some present of that kind is thought necessary, a service of china would answer the same purpose, at a smaller cost, and would employ our poor, and encourage our manufactures, at the same time.

EVER

ever require new restraints; and, among other useful laws, it might be enacted, that no vessel, particularly those suspected of smuggling, shall be suffered to leave a port in ballast, and to return to it again in the same state, without giving a proper account of the voyage it had performed. The trade also with Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, which are the depots of smugglers, might be put under some useful limitations. Persons licensed to deal in wines, spirits, and other articles liable to be smuggled, should be obliged by their licenses to prove, if called upon for that purpose, that the articles they have dealt in have been purchased from some entered importer, whose payment of the duties could be easily ascertained; and considerable rewards should be given to those who seize smuggled commodities at sea, and by whose exertions the ship as well as the cargo has been captured. For as it is necessary to have vessels of a peculiar structure for carrying on smuggling, if every vessel of that description were destroyed, that ruinous species of commerce would be annihilated.*

Of all our taxes, those upon wine, spirits, ale, beer, and other fermented liquors, are perhaps the least exceptionable. However passionately they may be desired by the people, yet in no re-

2. Consolidating the duties on malt, beer, and ale.

* Some of the best observations I have met with on smuggling, are contained in a little tract written by George Bishop, an eminent distiller at Maidstone in Kent, printed anno 1783.

spect can they be accounted real necessities of life^o: and it is a fortunate circumstance for this country, that it has not been reduced to the necessity of laying taxes upon provisions of any kind raised at home, whilst it is able at the same time to draw such an immense income, by imposing duties upon liquors both foreign and domestic, particularly those extracted from malt, which, though less hurtful and pernicious than others, yet are far from being essential. At present, however, taxes upon malt liquors are imposed in different stages of the process. A certain sum is exacted from the maltster for every quarter of malt that he makes, and other duties are demanded from the brewer who extracts the liquor from the grain. But the latter branch of the revenue does not yield in proportion to the former, because the maltster finds it difficult to evade the duty, on account of the bulkiness of the commodity^p; whereas the brewer carries on his operations under circumstances highly favourable to evasion: and it has been calculated, that if the whole amount of the present separate duties were levied upon malt, it would add

* The porters at Constantinople, who undergo as much fatigue as any set of men whatever, drink nothing but water; and it is well known, that the Mahomedans in general, from their temperance in drinking, escape many fatal distempers.

^p Some frauds however do exist even in this tax, which, by attention on the part of the officers, and regulations which parliament might enact, ought to be prevented.

about

about £.300,000 *per annum* to the national income¹.

This branch of the revenue, as it is now managed, is attended with little advantage to the public. The deductions from the gross produce, it is certain, must be considerable, from the charges of prosecution, and the emoluments to which the seizing officers and their assistants are intitled. But that the exchequer should receive so very small a proportion of the value seized, as the sums at present stated in the public accounts, is a subject which ought to be inquired into and explained.

In a country so burdened as Great Britain is, many taxes must have been imposed on the spur and hurry of the moment, the propriety and wisdom of which have not been justified by experience; and as taxes are of a complicated nature, and ought not only to be considered as sources of revenue, but as they may affect the commerce, the industry, the population, and even the morals of a nation, it is a plan that ought to be invariably adhered to, occasionally to review the established system of revenue, and to make such alterations in it as sound policy will direct. Perhaps at no period in the history of this country, has such an examination been so truly necessary as at present.

¹ This subject has been recommended by different authors to the public attention; but Dr. Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 507, 508, &c. has given the best view of the probable advantages resulting from such an alteration.

But of all the various duties to which this country is now subject, there are none which seem to be so peculiarly exceptionable as those upon coals carried coastways, and upon salt. In a former part of this work*, a plan was hinted at for abolishing the first of these taxes, and reviving, in its stead, the ancient duty of hearth-money. An ingenious nobleman, (Lord Dundonald), has since suggested the same substitute in lieu of the salt tax. At the rate of only 3*s.* *per* hearth, it is probable that as much might be raised as might yield a substitute for both, were even the houses of the poor to be totally exempted from the proposed imposition. The advantages that would result from such a regulation to the navigation, the commerce, the manufactures, and general wealth of the country, are hardly to be credited.

5. Commu-
tation of the
tax on drugs.

The high taxes at present imposed upon articles commonly known in the custom-house under the general name of Drugs, are liable to many solid objections. The value of the commodity being considerable in proportion to its bulk, furnishes a strong temptation to the smuggler to deal in such articles. It is generally, indeed, supposed that nine-tenths of the drugs we consume are clandestinely imported. From the peculiar advantages which England enjoys in its commerce with the East, (from whence by far the greatest quantities of drugs are brought), the whole trade both of Europe and

* Part I. chap. iv.

America might be engrossed by us, were not the duties so exorbitant, that a druggist in Holland can carry on as great and as profitable a trade with a small, as any individual in this country can with a great, capital. Above all, as many commodities included under the general name of Drugs, are made use of in our manufactures, any taxes which bear hard upon them, and contribute to render them less able to stand in competition with those of other powers, ought to be avoided. To remedy these financial evils, it might be a prudent and politic measure to abolish the duties upon drugs, or at least greatly to reduce them, and in their room to extend the tax upon quack medicines, to medicines made up even by druggists and apothecaries. By such a tax, the wealthy would principally be affected. For it is not from the consumption of the poor that the profit of the apothecary arises. It is the effeminacy, the folly, and the vices of the rich, that render their profession so lucrative.

By such regulations as these, the revenue of this country could not fail to receive a very considerable increase. Let us next examine what new taxes might be laid on, should the necessities of the state render additional imposts unavoidable.

3. NEW and ADDITIONAL TAXES.

How heavily soever this country may suppose itself loaded at present, yet various circumstances may occur, which may involve it in new wars, and

and may render very considerable additions to its revenue necessary. It is proper, therefore, by a previous discussion of so important a subject, to prevent the public from running any risk, when the necessity does arise, of being injured by pernicious financial operations. With that view, the following hints are submitted to the consideration, not only of the present age, but of its posterity.

1. Tax on income.

Were it possible to levy an equal tax upon the income of every individual, it would unquestionably be the best mode of raising a revenue. The difficulties, however, attending such a plan, particularly when extended to personal property, are very great. Perhaps so desirable an object, however, might in a great measure be attained, if all receipts for the rents of lands, houses, gardens, fishings, interest of money by bill, personal bond, and mortgage; and, in short, if every source of income, (funded property excepted), were made liable to certain stamp duties, at a moderate poundage.

Let us first state what would be the produce of the tax, at the rate of only sixpence in the pound, and next on what ground it may be supported.

If the land-tax as lately levied in England and Scotland, yielded full four shillings in the pound, amounting as it did to £.2,045,763:8:4, the landed income of the two kingdom would scarcely exceed ten millions *per annum*. But it is to be considered, that a great part of England and of Scotland was originally undervalued; that a greater extent

extent of territory has since been brought under cultivation; that the rents both of lands and houses have considerably increased; and when to this is added the interest of money on bills, bonds, and mortgages, surely sixty millions *per annum* cannot be accounted too high an estimate of the property that might thus be taxed. But as it is proposed to lay the duty on the landlord, and the creditor, or mortgagee, and as some lands are cultivated, and some houses possessed by the proprietor himself, which consequently would be exempted, let it be supposed that only fifty millions would remain to be taxed, which, at sixpence in the pound, would yield a revenue of £.1,250,000 *per annum*.

The first great advantage attending this tax would be, that, considering the income it might furnish, it would be levied at a very trifling expence. It would also be a sure revenue, which nothing but very great national calamities could render unproductive.

In the second place, it is impossible to lay any tax which men of property would feel less. The well known additional duty upon wine, which, though it put only one penny into the pocket of the public, took sixpence out of the pocket of the consumer, is a recent proof that taxes upon consumption are by far the most burdensome. Is it not better, therefore, for the man of property to give £.2 : 10, for every hundred pounds he receives, than to pay no less a sum than £.15 out of the

the same income, which would be the necessary consequence of additional taxes upon articles of consumption?

A third great advantage of this tax would be, that it would equally extend over every part of the kingdom. Scotland would pay its exact proportion with England, and Cumberland with Middlesex. And though every idea of altering the present mode of raising the old land tax is liable to many objections, yet, if new taxes must be raised, no good reason can be assigned, why any inequality should be longer suffered; or, in other words, why one part of the kingdom should be relieved at the expence of another.

The trouble that a number of stamps would occasion, and the risk of forgery, are the only material objections to this proposal. But, after being a short time accustomed to it, the trouble would appear very inconsiderable. Nor would it make any great difference whether a person is obliged to make use of plain or stamped paper, if the one was made as attainable as the other, which might easily be done, for the sake of so important a revenue, by employing a sufficient number of officers to distribute the stamps. Indeed, since we must suffer the inconvenience resulting from stamp duties upon receipts, is it not better to undergo any trouble of that kind, in order to raise a great, rather than an insignificant income? In regard to the risk of forgery, that might be prevented by making use of paper with marks similar

to those in the notes of banks and bankers, and by the appointment of officers in different districts, by whom the stamps might be counter-signed.

It is probable that a considerable sum of money ^{a Excise on dress.} might be raised, according to the following rates, by imposing a duty on all the milliners, mantua-makers, taylor, hair-dressers, and perfumers in the kingdom, more especially upon males exercising female professions.

1. To be paid for an annual license by every milliner, mantua-maker, taylor, hair-dresser, and perfumer, keeping a shop, or having journeymen or apprentices, in London, and within the bills of mortality	-	-	£. 1	1	0
To be paid by ditto for every apprentice during the time of such apprenticeship	-		0	10	0
To be paid by ditto for every journeyman they employ	-		0	5	0
2. To be paid by every milliner, &c. for an annual license, in the different cities in the kingdom			0	10	6
To be paid by ditto for every apprentice	-	-	0	5	0
To be paid by ditto for every journeyman			0	2	6
			3.	To	

3. To be paid, by every milliner, &c.
for an annual license, in the dif-
ferent market towns and villages
in the country - - - 0 5 0
- To be paid by ditto for every ap-
prentice and journeyman - - - 0 1 0

It may be urged in favour of this proposal, that it is a tax that would only affect the rich; for the poor have no occasion for milliners, hair-dressers, or perfumers: and, as to their clothes, they are in general made up at home, or they purchase old ones. At the same time the middling ranks of people, the great pillars of the exchequer, are not excepted.

If the proportions which are above stated are adopted, the tax cannot be reckoned burdensome. The inhabitants of the towns can well afford it; and as tradesmen in the country are generally less employed, it is proposed to tax them at a lower rate.

The taxes above mentioned are scarcely liable to fraud, and would be levied at a very trifling expence; and as there cannot be less than 300,000 milliners, mantua-makers, taylors, hair-dressers, and perfumers in the kingdom, from such a number, at least £.100,000 *per annum*, might be levied. By adopting such a plan also, the duties imposed on printed linen and cotton goods, so loudly and so justly complained of, might be altered: for any duty upon such articles, if at all imposed,

imposed, ought to be levied not when they are manufactured, but when they are made up. The only material objection to the tax is, that it interferes with some of the few professions in which women can be employed: it might be confined therefore to the male sex, who, in many instances, have inroached too much upon the occupations of females. Thus it might become an useful regulation of police, and even with that restriction might be a source of revenue not unworthy of attention.

There is no article imported into this country, that is in every respect so eligible a subject of taxation as that of sugar. It is a luxury of life that might undoubtedly be dispensed with: it is an article, which in consequence of its bulk, and the facility with which it is injured or destroyed, can hardly be smuggled into the kingdom; and taxing that commodity is the only means by which we can indemnify ourselves for the loss we sustain by the monopoly of our market, granted to our West India islands, and the enormous expences we are put to for their defence and protection. Perhaps the duty on the raw material, however, ought not to be increased; and that the better mode would be, to lay any additional tax that may be imposed at the sugar-bakers, and to proportion it according to the different fineness and price of the article.

The additional taxes imposed upon the brewery would justify the revival of a duty on cyder and perry,

3. Additional tax upon sugar.

4. Tax on cyder and perry.

perry, which have been too gently dealt with. It would be unjust indeed to augment the burdens upon the beverage usual in one part of the kingdom, without imposing a proportionable rate upon an article of the same nature, of such universal consumption in many other districts. The mode formerly thought of for taxing those commodities, however, having been once abandoned by the legislature, cannot well be revived precisely in the same form: though it is certain that the repeal was merely the effect of party spirit, and not of principle or conviction. But a cyder tax might be raised by imposing a duty upon apple trees, or orchards, without the possibility of any well-founded objection: or a tax might be levied upon pears and apples, when they are gathered in order to be manufactured into cyder and perry, in the same manner as the duty on hops is at present collected.

5. Poll-tax. In the course of this history it has already been stated, that on different occasions recourse was had to poll-taxes, for the purpose of raising a revenue. It must be acknowledged that they were far from being either popular or productive: but, at the same time, it is a species of taxation which public misfortunes may render necessary; and a poll-tax founded upon principles similar to those which were imposed in the reign of William the Third, might be adopted to considerable advantage, at least might bring in to the amount of

£.300 000

£.300,000 *per annum*, at the rates which were then exacted.

It has long been a subject of complaint, that ^{6. Profes-} lawyers, physicians, merchants, bankers, and other ^{sional tax.} persons of a similar description, do not pay a proportionable share to the revenue for the income they enjoy: and it has in general been supposed impracticable to levy any thing like an equal tax upon these professions, from the great difference that exists between the profits acquired by one man, and by another; and indeed from the impossibility of knowing the real gains of each individual.

There is a mode, however, by which this objection may be removed: the tax imposed upon professional men ought at first to be very moderate, but to the original sum an annual addition should be made, which addition should every year be augmented; and in partnerships the tax should be still higher, as the profits generally are greater. In most professions young beginners are seldom at first successful; but there is no man who may not succeed by perseverance and attention: and it might be held as an infallible rule, that those who continue long in any one line, are sufficiently able, not only to maintain themselves, and any family they may have, nay, to lay up a certain annual sum for the benefit of their posterity, but also to yield some share of their profits to the public. Perhaps the tax that has been lately imposed upon attornies, and those upon dealers in various excise-
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able commodities, might upon these principles, undergo some useful alterations.

In regard to partnerships in particular, a tax upon them would not only be a productive source of revenue, but would also prove an useful regulation of police. The public would be no longer in the dark, (which is often the case at present), respecting the persons with whom they deal, or against whom legal process may be instituted. And as partnerships are undoubtedly beneficial, in consequence of the great extent of business that may be carried on, from the credit, the capital, the commercial skill and information of many persons being united together; a tax upon them, if not too exorbitant, cannot well be complained of. The following rates, suggested by a person not unacquainted with such topics, might safely be adopted :

1. Bankers, both in town and country, who raise fortunes on the property of others, without the risk of trade, and whose numbers have of late years surprisingly increased, ought to be charged £.10 annually for each partner.

2. In mercantile and manufacturing houses, whose business is seldom so extensive, or at least so profitable, £.5 *per annum* from each partner might be sufficient.

3. In the case of retailers and tradesmen, the tax might be as low as £.2 on each partner.

The produce of the tax may be thus calculated :

1. Two

1. Two hundred banking-houses, at five partners in each, paying £.10 for every partner*	-	£. 10,000
2. Fifteen hundred mercantile and manufacturing houses, at three partners in each, and at £.5 each partner	-	22,500
3. Three thousand tradesmen and shopkeepers, at two in each partnership, and £.2 for every partner	- - -	12,000
		<hr/>
		£. 44,500

It would probably reach however £.50,000 *per annum*; and when it is considered that the proprietor of a miserable hackney coach, in London, pays at the rate of £.26 a-year to government, surely individuals of such property, spirit, and consequence, as the generality of persons above alluded to, would not complain of the comparatively small sums which are above suggested.

The gains of stock-brokers, of late years, have not only greatly increased, but, from the progressive magnitude of the national debt, are likely to be augmented. Though in consequence of the low price of the funds, a hundred pound in money would have lately purchased nearly twice as much in the three *per cents.* as it would have done forty

7. Tax on
stock-bro-
kers.

* Where attornies enter into partnership, they should be liable to the same tax as bankers.

yeare ago¹, yet their profit is the same, the buying and selling broker each receiving two shillings and sixpence for every hundred pound of stock that is transferred. The facility also with which brokers can transfer among themselves, encourages among them a gambling spirit, and partly occasions those fluctuations in the price of stocks, which are so injurious to the credit of the country. Indeed stock-broking has become so lucrative a trade, that the bankers in London stipulate that they are to receive one-half of the profits of such business as they put into the hands of their broker; nor is that an inconsiderable sum in great banking houses.

To lay a heavy tax upon every stock-broker, might not be productive, as it would diminish their number, and cause the whole business to be concentrated in a few hands². But every individual of that profession ought to be compelled to

¹ On the 18th December 1752, the three *per cents.* bore the highest prices known in this country, namely, 106½ *per cent.* On the 27th of February 1782 they fell to 53½, being the lowest price then known: at both periods the profits of the stock-broker were the same; consequently he received as much for negotiating a transfer of £.106 : 7s. : 6d. in the one case, as for £.53 : 12s. : 6d. in the other.

² It is said however that government might find fifty brokers who would pay £.1000 each, for an exclusive privilege of acting in that capacity. But in that case gambling in the alley, to a great extent, might be apprehended; and at any rate monopolies are invidious, and ought if possible to be avoided. The plan however would pay the interest of a million of money even at five *per cent.* if it could be realized.

take out a license, and to share with the public a part of the profit that he gains; which tax might be collected at a small expence by the clerks who witness the transaction. As there cannot be less than thirty millions of stock transferred every year, the profit of the brokers who buy and sell to that amount, at five shillings *per* hundred pound, must produce £.75,000, one half of which, or £.37,500, might perhaps be expected by the public.

If any set of men, on account of their situation ^{§ Tax on bachelors.} in life, ought to be subjected to additional imposts, and indeed made sensibly to feel the iron hand of taxation, surely those who profess the principles of celibacy, who live only for themselves, and who, from their mode of living, necessarily evade many taxes to which others are liable, are entitled to a pre-eminence². Of late this description of men have attracted the public attention, and some difference has been made between the taxes which they pay for their domestic servants, and those to which married people are liable. But the same principle ought to be extended to the carriages, horses, houses, and indeed every species of property they possess: and perhaps the tax imposed upon them in the reign of King William ought to

² Were celibacy to become more general, either from the luxurious and expensive manners of the times, or from that laxity of morals that has become so prevalent, it might be considerably checked in this country by a law, that no person should sit in either house of parliament, or should vote at any election, but such as were or had been married.

be revived⁷, since it would produce perhaps £.100,000 *per annum*, and is a tax, at the same time, which enjoys this peculiar advantage, that the less it yields, the better it is for the community.

9. Tax on
education.

The wandering spirit of the English nation has often been remarked: there is hardly a corner of Europe in which Englishmen may not be found; and wherever the access is easy, the number is inconceivable. Their mode of living abroad is also so expensive, that it is generally supposed that above a million sterling is annually drawn from this country to maintain the natives of it, who reside in foreign parts.

That the public is far from suffering when men of ability travel for the purpose of acquiring useful knowledge, I am very ready to allow; and by such individuals material improvements have been made known and introduced. But surely the mass of those who wander over the continent, neither do any service to themselves, nor any credit to their country; and the system of intirely educating any number of our youth abroad, of bringing them up in total ignorance of the manners and language of their country, and prejudiced in favour of those of other states, ought to be severely discountenanced.

The variety of new taxes also, which have been recently imposed, renders it particularly

⁷ See vol. ii. p. 12.

necessary

necessary to adopt some regulations to check such destructive emigrations. France already plumes itself with the idea, that many natives of England, induced by the greater cheapness in living, and to secure an exemption from many taxes which we are under the necessity of paying, will abandon their native homes, and reside in that country; and every means should be taken to discourage a spirit so likely to be prejudicial*.

As the best mode of checking so fatal a spirit of emigration, it might be proper to appoint commissioners, without whose permission no subject of Great Britain should be permitted to reside on the continent. Previously to the granting of any license, an account of the income of the person who required it, ought to be given, and if it were thought necessary it should be verified on oath: a duty of four shillings in the pound should be required for every year of absence: a less sum might suffice for a shorter period; and perhaps such as do not remain abroad above three months, might be totally exempted. All parents who educate their children in foreign seminaries, for a period exceeding two years, should be liable as if they themselves were absentees; and such as receive any money from the public, as placemen, clergymen, military officers, &c. (ambassadors always

* Vol. iii. chap. xxv. There are, it is said, above 40,000 British subjects in France alone, whose expenditure, at £.20 each, would amount to £.800,000 *per annum*.

excepted), ought to pay five shillings in the pound". By establishing such regulations, whether men lived abroad or at home, it would be equal to the public: in either case, every individual would bear a just proportion of the burdens of the nation. It is to be remarked that only four shillings in the pound, on only half a million, which is the least at which the income of absentees can be estimated, would produce one hundred thousand pounds.

re. Tax on
parliament-
ary repre-
sentation.

Many zealous friends to the purity of the British constitution, have of late strongly enforced the necessity of a parliamentary reform; and there are none, (the enemies of all innovations only excepted), who do not acknowledge the propriety of such a measure, were it possible to point out a plan that would be generally acceptable, or to hit upon a proper medium, to which all parties would give their consent. As that is hardly to be expected, let us next consider whether the constitution, as it now exists, might not be rendered subservient to the purposes of revenue.

It was an idea that prevailed in some of the free governments of antiquity, that every individual should pay in proportion to his power and authority in the state; nor was it reckoned at all injurious to the commonwealth, that those who contributed largely to the public supplies, should have

• Those who brought home new inventions, or useful information, might be rewarded by having their portion of the tax refunded.

consider-

considerable weight in the deliberations of the nation. Upon this principle the *comitæ centuriatæ* of the Roman republic were so constituted, that they were in a manner entirely governed by the resolutions of the opulent, who, on that account, had the principal load of defraying the expences of government thrown upon them.

In this country, it is well known, that the legislative authority of the state, is, at present, in a great measure, centered in the commons house of parliament. Hence it is a regulation which, upon the principles above alluded to, could not with justice be objected to, that every elector should pay a certain rate, suppose ten shillings *per annum*, for the privilege he enjoys^b; and that every district should pay one hundred pounds a-year for every member it sends to parliament. A considerable sum would in this manner accrue to the public. As there are at least two hundred thousand electors, a tax of ten shillings each, would produce £.100,000, and £.55,800 would arise from the proposed duty on each parliamentary district. Perhaps even a greater sum might be demanded: at any rate a contribution of that nature would diminish the odium of those important privileges, which so many petty, unknown, and

^b An ingenious friend of mine suggests, that the usual oath taken by electors should be sworn before a justice of the peace, and written on a ten shillings stamp. It would shorten the poll considerably, and insure the levying of the tax in contested elections.

insigni-

insignificant places at present possess. Nor would it be a trifling advantage, that the real electors might thus be known, and their names duly registered; so that all disputes with regard to the right of polling, would, for the future be prevented*.

xi. Tax on corporations.

Corporations are in general supposed to have sprung from the happy policy of Numa, who, finding that his subjects consisted of two nations, differing from each other in manners, in language, and in origin, endeavoured to promote a spirit of union among them, by incorporating such individuals as followed the same trade into one body, wisely conjecturing, that by frequently assembling in the same place, and making use of the same religious ceremonies, their mutual prejudices would wear away. To attain so great an object, many important privileges were bestowed upon the Roman corporations. They were permitted to purchase property, to enact bye-laws among themselves for the proper administration of their affairs, (provided they were not repugnant to the laws of the country), and in addition to other rights and franchises, the property they acquired was protected from embezzlement and loss, by statutes pe-

* A regulation of the nature above suggested, would answer the purposes of registration equally well with Lord Stanhope's bill, which, though originating from the best intentions, was in many respects exceptionable. The law of Ireland, in this respect, is, by all accounts, well entitled to the imitation of England.

culiarly

cularly favourable. From the Roman law these regulations have been borrowed by the modern nations of Europe.

It has been much questioned, however, whether corporations, in these times, are useful or prejudicial to a state. To encourage a spirit of monopoly, the necessary consequence of their establishment, is justly accounted not a little hurtful to industry. A free market for exertion of every kind, is supposed to be the best mode of insuring the prosperity of a nation. Without entering into so complicated a subject, it will be sufficient for our present purpose, merely to consider, whether corporations may not furnish an important source of revenue.

It is known that there are in England alone, about 250 greater, besides an infinite number of subordinate corporations. The greater, one with another, perhaps enjoy estates yielding £.1,000 each at an average, or £.250,000, and the property of the subordinate ones cannot be less, making in all £.500,000. Indeed, the income of the various companies in London, as the grocers, fishmongers, ironmongers, goldsmiths, skinners, &c. will alone amount to one fifth part of that sum. It would not be necessary, however, to tax the revenues of incorporated towns, if sufficient care were taken of their expenditure, and if the money they received, were properly laid out in building ornamental, or useful public edifices, such as churches, town halls, prisons, schools, and the like,

like, or in improving the harbours, canals, and navigable rivers in their neighbourhood. But, with regard to the inferior corporations, their income is swallowed up by those who have the management of their affairs, or wasted in useless feasts, empty parade, or fictitious charities. A tax of five shillings in the pound, upon their estates, could not be prejudicial, and would produce *£.62,500 per annum.*

72. Taxes
on the
church.

Of all the corporations that exist in this country, none can be compared in point of dignity, importance, or wealth, with the church of England, including the various seminaries in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which are so intimately connected with it.

Many friends to ecclesiastical reformation have contended, that a complete alteration of the present system is necessary; that the hierarchy ought to be totally abolished, and its property vested in the public; and that either a national church ought to be established, on the presbyterian model, being the least expensive; or, that the clergy should be left entirely dependent on the voluntary contributions of the people. But in every plan of so important a nature, extremes ought to be avoided; and a prudent man, who would not probably give his voice in favour of the hierarchy, were it now for the first time to be proposed, instead of rashly altering ancient institutions to which a nation has been accustomed, would rather endeavour to make the present church establishment of as much public service

service as possible, by compelling the clergy to reside more in their respective parishes; and, in some cases, by imposing additional taxes upon the income they possess.

It has already been remarked, in a former part of this work, that prior to the restoration, or at least to the establishment of the commonwealth, the clergy taxed themselves, and frequently paid two shillings in the pound more than their lay brethren. Without extending such a regulation to the whole church, it might surely be adopted so far as respects some particular classes^d.

There is no tax that has been more generally approved of, than that which imposed a certain duty upon the different sinecure offices of the state; and it has been well urged, that since those who are employed in the service of government, must submit to the reduction of their salaries, why should not the dignified clergy, who enjoy many valuable places, with very little trouble attending them, be considered in the same light, and be made subject to the same law, particularly as the offices held by deans, residentiaries, canons, prebendaries, precentors, treasurers of cathedrals, masters of colleges, &c. have this advantage over many of the civil offices, that they are enjoyed for life, and that the holders cannot possibly be deprived of them by any thing short of legislative authority^e.

^d It need hardly be remarked that the property of the church is subject to the present land tax in common with the rest of the kingdom.

^e See *Considerations on a new place-tax*, printed *anno 1756*.

Those who enjoy a plurality of livings, ought also to be liable to an additional tax of two shillings in the pound. However vehemently such accumulations may be defended^f, they are equally contrary to the genuine principles of ecclesiastical polity, and to the soundest doctrines of the Christian religion. When once the extent of a parochial district is ascertained, if it furnishes a sum adequate to the maintenance of a pastor, the inhabitants of the district are entitled to have a clergyman residing among them, to inculcate the principles of religion, and to edify them by his example; and if a plurality of livings is at all to be permitted, such as are suffered to enjoy so considerable an advantage ought to pay a duty to the public for the privilege they possess.

Heavy taxes ought also to be laid upon non-resident clergymen, whether pluralists or otherwise, who do not fulfil the object of their appointment^g. The ignorance and profligacy of the lower ranks in England are, perhaps with some justice, attributed to the inattention of their pastors. It cannot be expected that those who are aban-

^f Mr. Wharton, in his *Defence of Pluralities*, as now practised in the church of England, printed *anno* 1703, has attempted to defend the holding of two benefices at the same time; but his principal argument is, that pluralists are not more useless in their profession than non-residing clergymen; which cannot have much weight with any body, and far less with those who think that all clergymen should be residents.

^g Perhaps the tax should also be extended to those who present themselves, and who consider the livings in their gift in the same manner as an hereditary estate.

done by their natural instructors, and left to the guidance of their own impetuous passions, should always act as becomes the professors of the Christian religion. And it is of little consequence, that a wretched curate is left, with a pitiful salary, to conn over the lessons of the day, or to preach a cold and lifeless sermon upon Sunday, whilst his proud superior is amusing himself in the capital, or wandering from one watering-place to another, in search of pleasure and preferment.

But if it is thought dangerous or impolitic to carry these principles into effect, yet surely the clergy ought no longer to be suffered to engross any part of the national income. In the reign of Queen Anne, a popular cry was raised in favour of the church, of which a party in opposition took advantage to overturn the administration of the day; and, in recompence thereof, an act was passed, by the influence of the new ministers, in consequence of which the first fruits and tenths, a part of the revenue of the crown, were taken from the public, and appropriated to the augmentation of the smaller clerical benefices. This branch of the revenue amounted to about £.14,000 *per annum*; and on the first of January 1735, the governors of that charity possessed besides, from savings and private benefactions, the sum of £.152,500 of Old South Sea Annuities, and £.4,857 : 2 : 11, of cash in the hands of their treasurer^a. Whatever the

^a See Lords Journals, vol. xxiv. p. 665. The return was printed *anno* 1736, in one volume folio.

state of that fund may now be, yet surely, if the small livings of the church required to be augmented, it is not from the revenue belonging to the crown, and to the public, but from the church itself, where its emoluments are confessedly too great, that the addition ought to be demanded.

23. Tax on
public
amuse-
ments.

It is generally supposed, that as much money is expended in Great Britain and Ireland in supporting public entertainments, as in one half of Europe. By some it is imagined, that the passion which the English indulge for these amusements, might be rendered subservient to the purposes of the state, and that by imposing a stamp duty upon all tickets of admission, according to their value, a considerable sum might be raised without doing any material injury to the persons by whom such public places are conducted. It is a tax that would only affect the opulent and the idle; and though, after having been voted by parliament, it was given up by the minister who proposed it, yet the future exigencies of the nation may render such a measure necessary. As an additional inducement to such a tax, it may be urged, that a multitude of public spectacles is inconsistent with the principles of good police, and has a destructive tendency on the morals of the people.

24. Hide
tax.

In a work attributed to the famous Dr. D'Avenant published *anno* 1710¹, an enumeration is made
of

¹ Printed in two volumes, and intitled, *New Dialogues on the present Posture of Affairs, the species of money, national debts,*

of the different plans of taxation that were current at that time, with the arguments that were used either in their favour or otherwise. To a general excise it was objected, that it would only answer upon bulky articles of consumption, and could not well be collected except in fortified towns, such as those in France, in Flanders, and in Italy. A duty upon wool, which it would seem was also in contemplation, was thought too unpopular to be touched upon, and would either prove burdensome upon our manufactures, if it was charged at a high rate, or if the duty was low, must be unproductive. A tax upon corn at the mill, it was urged, would create a multitude of officers, and, instead of attacking the luxurious vices of the rich, would have the effect of rendering the subsistence of the poor more difficult. A duty upon flesh, fish, fowls, &c. had been already unsuccessfully attempted under the arbitrary government of the commonwealth. And an impost on the heads of living cattle, which had been also proposed, would be difficult to collect, and might easily be

debts, public revenues, &c. said to be written by the author of the *Essays on Ways and Means*, the name which D'Avenant put to all his works. It is not included in the collection of them published by the late Sir Charles Whitworth, but bears every internal mark of authenticity, being full of important facts and useful information. As this work is hardly to be met with, it would be desirable to have it reprinted in the same manner with his other publications.

evaded; and, on account of the great difference in point of the size and value of one animal from another, and the different price they would fetch at the capital, and in the remote corners of the country, would be unequal. Indeed, after going through a variety of financial projects, the only great and unexceptionable resource that occurred to the politicians of those days, was a grant to the crown of the hide of every ox, bull, cow, steer, and heifer; and of the skin of every calf, sheep, and lamb, which should either die or be killed in the kingdom^{*}.

I may not be improper to lay before the reader an account of the estimates that D'Avenant formed of the probable value of the grant.

FIRST TABLE.

AMOUNT of the STOCK, BREED, and ANNUAL CONSUMPTION of CATTLE and SHEEP in GREAT BRITAIN.

	Stock.	Breed.	Annual consumption.	Gross value of each.	Total gross value.
				£. s. d.	£.
Beeves and Calves	4,400,000	1,050,000	{ Beeves 800,000	3 6 0	2,640,000
			{ Calves 250,000	0 12 0	150,000
Sheep and Lamb	12,000,000	6,360,000	{ Sheep 4,400,000	0 6 6	1,430,000
			{ Lamb 1,960,000	0 4 4	424,667
	22,400,400	7,410,000	7,410,000		4,644,667

* New Dialogues, vol. ii. p. 186.

SECOND TABLE.

VALUE and WEIGHT of each.

Value of the net carcase.			Value of offal and tallow of each.			Value of the hide or skin of each.			Weight of each net carcase.	Price of a pound wt. of each.
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	lb.	d. Tenbs.		
Beeves	-	2 12 6	0 7 4	0 6 2	370	1 7				
Calves	-	0 10 0	0 1 1	0 0 11	50	2 4				
Sheep	-	0 4 8	0 0 9	0 1 1	28	2 0				
Lamb	-	0 3 7	0 0 5	0 0 4	18	2 9				

THIRD TABLE.

VALUE of the ANNUAL CONSUMPTION.

	Value of the flesh.	Offal.	Hides and skins.	Total value.
	£.	£.	£.	£.
Beeves	2,100,000	293,333	246,667	2,640,000
Calves	125,000	13,542	11,458	150,000
Sheep	1,026,667	165,000	238,333	1,430,000
Lamb	351,167	40,833	32,667	424,667
	3,602,834	512,708	529,125	4,644,667

FOURTH TABLE.

CONSUMPTION of LONDON and the BILLS of MORTALITY.

Annual consumption.	Value of the carcase.	Amount.	Value of the offal.	Amount.	Value of the hides or skins.	Amount.
	£. s. d.	£.	£. s. d.	£.	£. s. d.	£.
Beeves 160,000	At 4 4 6	676,000	At 0 12 6	100,000	At 0 9 6	76,000
Calves 50,000	0 15 0	37,500	0 1 9	4,375	0 1 6	3,750
Sheep 880,000	0 8 0	352,000	0 1 2	51,333	0 1 8	73,324
Lamb 392,000	0 6 6	127,400	0 0 7	11,433	0 0 6	9,800
1,482,000		1,192,900		167,141		162,874

FIFTH TABLE.

CONSUMPTION of the rest of ENGLAND.

Yearly consumption.		Value of carcase.	Amount.	Value of offal.	Amount.	Value of hides or skins	Amount.
		£. s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.
Beeves	- 640,000	At 2 5 0	1,440,000	At 6 0 1	193,333	At 5 4	170,667
Calves	- 200,000	0 7 6	75,000	0 11	9,167	0 9 1	7,708
Sheep	- 3,520,000	0 3 9	660,000	0 7 1	113,667	0 11 1	165,099
Lamb	- 1,568,000	0 3 0	234,934	0 4 1	29,400	0 3 1	22,867
Country		5,928,000	2,409,934		345,567		366,251
London		1,482,000	1,192,900		167,141		162,874
Total		7,410,000	3,602,834		512,708		529,125

SIXTH TABLE.

AMOUNT of the TAX.

Hides and skins in London	-	£.162,874
Ditto in the rest of England	-	366,251
Ditto in Scotland	-	30,526
Total		<u>£.559,651</u>

But it was proposed, that one fourth of the value should be given to the proprietor, upon the delivery of the hide or skin; consequently the net produce would not exceed £.419,738 : 5.

There is no scheme of taxation, that strikes me as being better entitled to public attention, than this duty upon hides. It is an impost, which, as

D'Avenant

D'Avenant well observes, would fall chiefly upon the rich, and could be collected at a very inconsiderable expence. It would fall upon a great variety of people, and consequently would be less felt; for part of the tax would be paid by the grazier, part by the butcher, or retailer, and the remainder by the last consumer, from whom a higher price for the meat would be demanded: and pork being exempted from the tax, the poor might furnish themselves with that species of meat at a cheaper rate. Indeed, if a tax upon butchers' meat were at any time to be under the contemplation of government, (and there is no saying to what necessities the country may be driven), this seems to be the best and most equitable mode by which it could be collected.

The above tables furnish room for important speculation.

The great difference in regard to the size of the cattle, and the price of meat, in the reign of Queen Anne, and the present time, must strike every one. As to the first point, bullocks now killed in London weigh, at an average, 800*lb.*; calves, 148*lb.*; sheep, 80*lb.*; and lamb about 50*lb.* each. This proves the great progress that has been made in agriculture, and how much the art of fattening and increasing the size of cattle has been improved. As to the price of meat at present (June 1804), beef sells at 7*d.* *per lb.* veal at 9*d.* mutton at 8*d.* grass lamb at 11*d.* when purchased, even in wholesale, for the consumption of London: the retail price is still more considerable.

The value of the hides and skins also is greatly augmented: those of oxen being about forty shillings, of calves about ten shillings and sixpence, the skins of sheep, with the wool, about eight shillings, and of lambs, about three shillings and sixpence each.

It is farther to be remarked, if we may judge from the following authentic statement of the number of sheep and cattle brought to Smithfield market from Michaelmas 1730 to Michaelmas 1785, that the calculations made by D'Avenant, of the consumption of London, and the bills of mortality, were rather exaggerated, unless the diminished quantity is made up by the increased weight.

			Sheep.	Cattle.
Average for five years ending				
Michaelmas	-	1735	568,060	93,655
Ditto, ending ditto		1740	599,466	97,548
Ditto, ending ditto		1745	531,134	85,892
Ditto, ending ditto		1750	655,516	80,878
Ditto, ending ditto		1755	680,618	80,843
Ditto, ending ditto		1760	616,750	91,699
Total, <i>anno</i>	-	1761	842,080	121,175
Average for four years,				
ending Michaelmas		1765	635,247	86,555
Ditto for five years, end-				
ing ditto	-	1770	632,812	84,244
Ditto, ending ditto		1775	612,076	91,441
Ditto, ending ditto		1780	685,700	96,288
Ditto, ending ditto		1785	686,298	100,551

It

It appears, however, from the report of the committee of the court of common council, appointed by the city of London, *anno* 1786, to consider of the causes of the high price of provisions, that considerable numbers both of cattle and sheep are made use of in the metropolis, which never appear at Smithfield, and consequently the number of sheep consumed in London may be calculated at £.730,000, and of cattle at £.110,000. This is greatly under D'Avenant's estimates; but that may be partly owing to the astonishing difference in point of weight between the cattle and sheep of the two periods.

There is now an opportunity of raising a considerable addition to the revenue, by adopting a plan, that would be both useful to the public, and popular in the country.

15. Tax on weights and measures.

It is now ascertained¹, that there would be no difficulty in establishing one standard, that would answer equally well;

1. For the lineal measure of a foot.
 2. For the weight of an ounce, pound, &c.
- and,
3. For the quarter, or measure of capacity.

And that the same might be effected without making any alteration in the present standard.

It is also certain, that the standard, if lost, could at any time be recovered, by means of an instru-

¹ The public is much indebted to Sir George Shuckburgh for great and successful attention to this important object. See also regarding it, Dr. Rotherham's letter to Sir John Sinclair.

ment like Mr. Whitehurst's, by which the difference between the lengths of two pendulums, vibrating in different times, might be ascertained, without knowing the precise length of either.

The possibility, therefore, of having the same standard, and of renewing it at any time, being unquestionable, nothing remains but to interpose the authority of parliament, for the purpose of establishing, in terms of the articles of union between England and Scotland, the same weights and measures over the whole kingdom, and with a view of making it not only a useful regulation of police, but also productive to the revenue, the following plan is suggested.

It is proposed, that every person using either weights or measures, shall be obliged to take out an annual licence, specifying the nature of the weights and measures he uses, which must be regularly stamped, and occasionally inspected by public officers. A tax will be the best means of equalizing weights and measures, which has been so much talked of, and of rendering them uniform. It is one advantage of this tax, that it might be levied in some degree in proportion to the dealings of the persons who were licensed; for instance, those who made use of small weights or measures, or retail dealers in general, (excepting those who deal in valuable articles), ought to pay proportionally less than wholesale dealers.

It is hardly possible to estimate the produce of this tax, but as it would spread over a great body
of

of people, it must yield a considerable sum, and at least to the following amount.

Suppose 100,000 small retail dealers at	£.
2s. 6d. each	12,500
400,000 greater retail dealers at 10s. each	200,000
50,000 wholesale ditto, including those who deal in gold, silver, jewels, drugs, &c. at 20s. each	50,000
	<hr/>
	250,500

It was remarked in a former part of this work ^{16. Tax of one half of the income of the dead.} that the funding system could hardly be carried on with advantage, unless, for the purpose of diminishing the public debts, some great and productive tax was established, proportioned to the wealth of the nation, and the debts that it had incurred; and for that purpose, that it might be proper to enact a permanent regulation, by which every individual having property in Great Britain, whether native or foreigner, should be under the necessity of leaving to the public, *at least one half of his clear annual income in this country at the time of his death.* No testament ought to be valid without such a bequest; and if any person died intestate, a year's income should be required. In favour of such a tax the following arguments may be urged.

It is only in consequence of the protection of government, that an individual enjoys the high prerogative of leaving his property to any person

^m Vol. i. p. 377.

he may prefer, or, failing of any destination of his own, that his descendants or near relations succeed in preference to every other. And as the public thus secures to individuals so important a privilege, it is well entitled to some share of the wealth they leave behind them, for executing either the real will, or what the law interprets to have been the wishes of the deceased.

It is next to be considered, that the tax is not paid until the person receives property much more than sufficient to enable him to do it with ease; and that when property is first transferred into the hands of any individual, he parts with it with much greater facility, than when it has been some time in his possession.

Indeed the tax would only be a revival of the feudal incident, known under the name of *Relief* or *Primer Seisen*, extending to personal, that which was formerly restricted to landed property. Inheritances too inconsiderable to bear the burden with ease, might be exempted, without materially diminishing the produce of the tax; and such as paid largely to the exchequer, instead of any compunction, would have reason to congratulate themselves in proportion to the magnitude of the duty to which they were made liable^a.

^a The same ideas are very ably maintained by Lord Lauderdale, in a paper circulated by him, intituled, "A plan for altering the manner of collecting a large part of the public revenue."

Various other taxes might be suggested. A ^{Miscellaneous taxon.} stamp duty upon engravings has often been recommended. A licence for the privilege of using fire-arms has been proposed. Buttons, buckles, boots, and shoes, have been talked of as proper sources of revenue. Carpeting, musical instruments, and other articles of furniture, it is said, might be taxed to advantage. The duty on aliens might, in some cases, be increased*. A tax on lodgings might

* A very intelligent merchant sent me the following plan respecting an additional duty *on aliens*, by which either the revenue or the navigation of the country must necessarily be increased.

It is well known, that about 44,000 barrels of tar and pitch are annually imported into this kingdom in Swedish bottoms. When British ships load these articles in Sweden, they are charged 1*s.* 4*d.* *per* barrel, over and above the duty that is charged on ships belonging to Swedish subjects; whereas in England the difference of the duty imported in Swedish or British bottoms, is only one penny *per* barrel in favour of British ships; consequently we import those articles in our own ships with a loss of 1*s.* 3*d.* *per* barrel. Can it then be wondered at, that the greater part of this trade, with such an advantage in favour of the Swedes, should be carried on in ships belonging to Swedish subjects?

If an additional aliens duty in England of 1*s.* 3*d.* *per* barrel were levied on tar and pitch imported in ships belonging to Swedish subjects, the trade would then be more equally carried on by the subjects of both kingdoms.

Admitting that 22,000 barrels of tar and pitch would continue to be imported by Swedish ships, the additional aliens duty would raise £.1375, and were the remaining 22,000 barrels to be imported in ships belonging to British subjects, it would furnish employment to 22 sail of ships of 200 tons bur-
then

might be laid on to discourage celibacy, and a stamp-duty upon tavern bills as a burden upon the dissolute and the idle. Some have proposed that the living should pay for the liberty of wearing watches; and others, that a sum of money should be exacted from the property of the dead, in proportion to the expence of any monument that may be erected to their memory^p. A tax on circulating libraries, by a licence at the rate of 2s. 6d. *per* 100 volumes *per annum*, has often been hinted at. The law, by registers, stamps on briefs, and other means, might furnish important sources of revenue. In short, the modes that might be proposed for the purposes of additional taxation, are innumerable. But it is to be considered that all the power and ingenuity of man cannot carry the income of the public beyond certain boundaries. An able minister may acquire such accurate information regarding the political circumstances of a country, as to know, with some degree of precision, to what extent those boundaries may be stretched; and a wise statesman will not fail to dis-

then each, and manned by 220 British seamen, the profits of which would centre in this kingdom, in addition to the advantages which would be derived from such a regulation by British shipbuilders, and various other tradesmen.

^p It is not unusual to require a fine from those who have stones placed over their graves; to one half of which the public might be intitled, and the parish might be satisfied with the other.

cover the means of levying the sums that can be raised, in a manner the least capable of injuring the various complicated interests of a nation.—But to what extent, in regard to actual produce, taxes may be carried in this country, I trust will never be stretched to the utmost length of which it is capable.

4. LUCRATIVE FINANCIAL PROJECTS.

There is no mode, by which a public revenue can be raised, in a manner so popular and so unexceptionable, as by carrying into execution, for the public behoof, such plans as may yield considerable profit to the exchequer, without imposing additional, or at least useless, burdens upon the people. The post-office is the only instance, at present, of such a system in the finances of this country. But there are many other resources of the same kind well entitled to the attention of a statesman.

The first plan of that nature that ought to be considered is, how to encourage, as much as possible, the voluntary contributions of public-spirited individuals.

A foreign author, whose work is full of important political information¹, after remarking that the only solid proof that England can give of her strength, is the extinction of her public

1. Voluntary contributions.

¹ Les Interets des Nations de l'Europe développé relativement au Commerce. Quarto, a Leide 1766.

debts;

debts ; adds, that such is the patriotic zeal which flourishes in this country, that he should not be surprised to see the nation exhibit this singular spectacle in the eyes of Europe, that of discharging all its incumbrances by voluntary subscription*. It is with pleasure I embrace an opportunity of stating, from an impartial and disinterested writer, so favourable a testimony of the public-spirited character of my countrymen. Nor is it without foundation that he hazards such an opinion ; for the following circumstances will prove, that had proper measures been adopted at the commencement of the present century, to encourage such zeal in individuals, the nation would probably have been free from no inconsiderable part of its burdens at this hour*.

When the revenue arising from the first fruits and tenths, was originally appropriated for ecclesiastical uses, various means were adopted that might incite private individuals to devote some

* “ Ce zèle patriotique est peutetre le fonds le plus riche de la nation Britannique ; ce zèle excité plus que jamais, dans la Grand Bretagne, par la haute idée de son empire universel ; il ne seroit pas etonnant de voir cette nation donner a l’Europe le singulier spectacle, du payement de sa dette par voye de souscription.” Tome premier, p. 216. & 220.— It is hardly necessary to remark that this work was published before the American war.

* Sir Francis Blake, a very great landed proprietor in Northumberland, proposed, that every man should take his proportion of the public debt, and offered voluntarily to contribute his own very considerable part.

part of their property to this purpose; and it is an important circumstance to mention, that in the space of about thirteen years and a half, commencing *anno* 1714, no less a sum than £.135,261 was bequeathed by different persons for augmenting small livings in England'. That was at the rate of about £.10,000 *per annum*; and such a sum operating on a 4 *per cent.* stock, would have paid in the space of a hundred years the sum of £.12,370,000.

But it is not the church alone that has been benefited by such contributions. There is hardly a town in Great Britain of any considerable importance; there is not a charitable foundation of any kind; nay, hardly a single parish in England, to which some bequests have not been made, which, were they accumulated into one sum for any particular object, would be productive of astonishing effects. The charitable donations for the benefit of the poor, in England and Wales alone, exceed £.250,000 *per annum*. Even that sum, operating upon a 4 *per cent.* stock, would have accumulated, in the space of a century, to the amount of £.309,250,000; and consequently our debts, heavy as they are, might have been actually discharged before this time, by *voluntary contributions*, had such a system been properly understood and encouraged at the Revolution.

' See Eikon's *Liber Valorum*, third edition, printed *anno* 1728.

Nay, the particular idea above hinted at, has not been neglected. *Anno* 1733, Richard Norton, Esquire, of Southwick, in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, left his property and estates to parliament to pay the public debts^a. Sir Joseph Jekyl, master of the rolls in the reign of George II. who died *anno* 1738, bequeathed effects to the amount of about £.26,000 to the sinking fund^b. But parliament was afterwards prevailed upon to reverse the will of that public-spirited citizen: yet that very sum would have bought, in the space of forty-five years, the sum of £.103,000 of 4 *per cent.* stock; and at the conclusion of a century Sir Joseph Jekyl would have been recorded, as a be-

^a Paterfon's Description of the Roads of Great Britain, p. 17. Road from London to Portsmouth. It is said, that the will was set aside. A copy may be seen in the Gentleman's Magazine. Vol. iii. p. 57. (February 1733.)

^b The history of Sir Joseph Jekyl's legacy was as follows: By his will, dated the 4th of May 1738, he left £.10,000 East India stock, and £.10,000 South Sea stock, to be applied, after the death of Elizabeth his wife, to the use of the sinking fund, in such manner as should be directed by act of parliament. His widow died *anno* 1745; and the East India stock was sold *anno* 1747, for £.15,872 : 14; and as the South Sea stock was then about par, the whole legacy amounted to about £.26,000. By 20 Geo. III. cap. 34. £.13,582 : 9 : 2 in money, was given from the sinking fund to the residuary legatees. By an act passed *anno* 1772, (12 Geo. III. cap. 53.) the sum of £.2,290 : 4 : 10 of this legacy was directed to be paid into the exchequer, to be applied to the sinking fund. This was the only advantage reaped by the public from this patriotic citizen; for by 14 Geo. III. cap. 89. the balance of his legacy was given to his heirs in New England.

refactor

refactor to the public, to the amount of £.1,255,000. Such a spirit, had it been encouraged, would have soon spread. The author of this work, having distributed among his friends, a small tract recommending such an idea, was happy to find that it met with the warmest approbation; and some by whom it was perused, expressed the strongest anxiety, that the necessary laws for that purpose might be enacted without delay, that they might have an opportunity of proving, how sincerely desirous they were, of promoting the interests, by voluntarily contributing to diminish the heavy burdens, to which their fellow-citizens were subject.

As a strong and useful incitement to such public benefactions, it might be enacted, that every sum thus given, should be accumulated at compound interest in the name of the donor; and the politic regulation that was devised in regard to the augmentation of the smaller livings of the clergy, ought to be adopted, by which a sum equal to the money bestowed, should be taken from the general fund, and appropriated to the same purpose. The consequences of such a regulation may be easily supposed from this, that there is hardly a citizen in this country, who by great industry and minute attention might not accumulate £.1000 in the space of a few years. If that sum were laid out in 4 *per cent.* stock, in the course of a century it would purchase £.250,000 of stock; and if an equal sum were taken from the sinking fund, at the end of a

hundred years he would appear a benefactor to the state to the amount of *half a million*; at the conclusion of which period, a statue should be erected to his memory in Westminster-abbey, or some other conspicuous edifice, as a mark of the public gratitude. Thus might a private individual, acquire immortal honour, by means perfectly practicable and easy. The fictitious will of Fortuné Ricard, who on so slender a foundation as 500 livres, or £.22:4:6 sterling, bequeathed sums of money for purposes, which would necessarily occasion the most important political consequences, is well known. In particular it was proposed, (and if a will to that effect were duly executed, the sum was sufficient for the purpose), besides many other great undertakings, to pay off, in less than five centuries, the immense incumbrances with which Great Britain and France are now loaded^y. If such effects can be produced from so paltry a sum, what may not be expected in an opulent country like England, where many individuals, in consequence of their commercial industry, or by means of their successful exertions in our settlements abroad, acquire great wealth, without having any near relation on whom their fortunes can

^y The will was written by M. Mathon of Lyons, under the feigned name of Ricard. A translation of the work is annexed to Dr. Price's *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*, printed *anno* 1785.

be bestowed^{*}? In such a case, how absurd is it, not to put it in their power to leave their property to the public? And though many will affect to commiserate the situation of their distant connections, who may be thus deprived of property to which they might have some legal pretension; yet who can put the interest of a few obscure and unknown individuals in competition with that of the public? Indeed, unless people are either born to the enjoyment of great possessions, or have been accustomed to live in luxury and splendour, what are they the better for riches? To want pleasures to which one has been accustomed, may be distressing: but to live without enjoyments which were never tasted, cannot justly be accounted a hardship^{*}.

It

^{*} Many fortunes, as they are called, have been also made in this country by less honourable means; by gambling in the funds; by speculation and plunder in India; and by defrauding the public at home; and occasionally sums have been sent to the chancellor of the exchequer, *for conscience sake*, by persons who vainly thought, that refunding some part of their ill-gotten gains, would appease a guilty conscience.

[†] These sentiments are ably supported by the commissioners of the public accounts, who conclude their eleventh report in the following words: "The subjects of this kingdom are opulent, generous, and public spirited: let the distresses of their country be fairly laid before them, and let that interest they and their posterity have in this constitution be appealed to, and they will contribute cheerfully and liberally to her relief. Let public benevolence take the lead of private interest; example may produce much, and must begin somewhere. An

2. Proper
employment
of the poor.

It is a duty incumbent upon every political society, to provide for such unhappy individuals belonging to it, as from the poverty of their situation, from sickness, want of employment, and the various unavoidable misfortunes to which human nature is liable, are unable to maintain themselves; and in no country have these generous principles been carried to such an extent as in England, every native of it being entitled to demand sustenance in the parish in which he was born, or in which he has acquired a settlement.

But for many years past, the loudest complaints have been, with too much justice, made, of the manner in which the sums levied for such important purposes have been expended. It is too generally and justly supposed, that a considerable portion of it is wasted in law-suits regarding the settlement of the poor, and in feasting the parochial officers; and that the sums actually laid out, are far from being judiciously expended; the poor

extraordinary and unprecedented conjuncture in the finances of a country, may require extraordinary and unprecedented efforts. Every man may dedicate a portion of his income, or some share of his affluence, according to his faculties, to this great national object: let the produce of such a general exertion be wisely directed and faithfully applied; and this debt, enormous as it is, will begin to melt away: and every man who contributes to so great a work, will feel the consolation resulting from the discharge of the most important of his duties, by having assisted in relieving public distress, restoring public credit, and averting a national calamity."

being

being either suffered to remain at home, and to waste the public bounty in luxurious gratifications, or being shut up in workhouses, in a manner banished from society, and prevented from the means of procuring necessary air and exercise for the preservation of their health and existence. Pity for so many unhappy creatures thus lost to the state, and zeal for the prosperity of the public, have induced the author to propose a system, that, in his opinion, would be productive of the happiest consequences.

The poor's rates, including charitable legacies and donations, produced in the year ending at Easter 1803, the enormous sum of £. 3,246,506 ^b.

The sums raised by turnpikes in the different roads of the kingdom, will at least amount to five hundred thousand pounds a-year; and it is a source of revenue capable of very great increase, by extending it to new districts, and by a gradual augmentation of the rates that are now exacted ^c.

Tobacco, madder, and India corn, might easily be raised in this country to considerable advantage. Indeed, by supplying our own consumption, and per-

^b See the abstract presented to the House of Commons, of returns relative to the expence and maintenance of the poor. Ordered to be printed 15th May, 1804.

^c No accurate account of the income of the different turnpikes can be obtained. *Annis* 1772 and 1773, committees were appointed to inquire into the subject (see Commons Journals, vol. xxxiii. p. 416; and vol. xxxiv. p. 155.); but no report seems to have been made.

haps that of our neighbours in Europe, these articles might be cultivated to the value of at least £.500,000 *per annum*; consequently there are pecuniary resources in these branches to the amount of £.6,216,000, or, for the sake of round numbers, to the extent of six millions.

There are belonging to the crown of England, a number of chases, forests, and waste lands, at present of hardly any value, though naturally as fertile as any other part of the island, and to the full as capable of cultivation.

The plan then is shortly this: That commissioners be appointed for the better management of the poor: That the same sum that is now levied as poor's rates be raised for the future, in each district, without addition or abatement, and put under the management of these commissioners^d: That all the roads in the kingdom, whether turnpike or otherwise, be placed under their direction: That all the king's forests, &c. unless necessary for the royal diversion, or for rearing timber for the navy, be cultivated as they may determine: And, instead of the present wretched system, let the poor be employed in making and repairing roads, and in the useful and invigorating labours of the field. To prove the immense consequences of such a plan, it is sufficient to remark, That there are many mil-

^d Where no poor's rates are at present levied, a pound rate of the average amount all over England should be imposed, to prevent inequality.

tions of acres of waste and common land in the kingdom: That the greater part of that quantity is capable of producing in gross value from twenty to forty shillings an acre *per annum*; and such of these lands as are fit for raising madder, tobacco, India corn, and other useful commodities, would produce to the amount of at least five pounds a-year. Under the system that is here proposed, they might all be brought into cultivation in a very short space of time; and thus, by the labour of the poor, an unbounded treasure might be added to the national income.

It is impossible to mention the article of tobacco, without remarking the absurdity of continuing the several restrictions upon the cultivation of that article in this country, that existed when America formed a part of the empire of Great Britain. However politic it might be to encourage the industry of those colonies in former times, when we were the same people, yet now the case is altered; and the importation of any article from that country, with which we can supply ourselves with ease, ought not be permitted.

It is a circumstance peculiarly favourable to the success of such a measure, that many of the royal forests, Sherwood and Epping forests in particular; and those in the county of Kent, and neighbourhood of Portsmouth, are admirably calculated for the purposes above mentioned; and are possessed of such natural advantages, in consequence of the richness of their soil, and their vicinity to naviga-

tion, that any plan for their improvement, judiciously executed, can hardly fail to be successful.

Nor is it a trifling consideration, that so many of our fellow-creatures, who are now excluded from society, and perishing for want of exercise and air, should thus be usefully employed in less injurious labours; and that instead of unhealthy objects, who pine away a miserable existence, shut up from any commerce with mankind, under tyrannical task-masters, we should be possessed of a healthy and industrious race, who might add considerably to the strength and opulence of the nation, and whose posterity might be brought up to cultivate our fields, to fill up our armies, and to man our fleets: a hardy breed might be expected, when every individual worked in the open air, and who was never compelled to labour beyond his ability. To keep even roads in repair that are once properly formed, requires little exertion, more particularly if any defect or failure is corrected the instant that it appeared*. And with regard to tobacco, the principal difficulty attending its cultivation is, to destroy a species of worm with which it is peculiarly infested, and which can be done even by women and children.

It is unnecessary to enter into the various minute regulations that such a plan would require, because a system of so extensive and important a nature must

* Machines might easily be contrived for breaking stones, where roads are repaired with that article, that would not require much strength in the labourers.

be gradually established. The first step to be taken ought to be, to ascertain the amount of the sums levied for the maintenance of the poor, and the manner in which they are expended^f. Systems ought then to be formed for their better regulation; and when commissioners were appointed, the poor might be gradually spread over the whole country, for the purposes that have been mentioned^g. The plan, from the beginning, could not be attended with any material charges to the nation, and would put an end to that litigation in regard to the settlements of the poor, and to that expence which swallows up a considerable part of the money that is levied; and in process of time perhaps one-third of the six millions above mentioned might be dedicated to public purposes. Hence, the proper employment of the poor is a resource, which cannot be justly calculated at a less sum than *two millions per annum*.

^f This has been done under the auspices of the late worthy and public spirited representative for Litchfield (Thomas Gilbert, Esq.), and since by the Right Honourable George Rose, who has shewn a very laudable attention to such inquiries.

^g For instance, every six miles a turnpike might be erected; a Chelsea pensioner might be appointed to collect the tolls, and to oversee the repairing of the roads for three miles on each side of the turnpike; and from ten to twenty poor people, as occasion might require, should be employed under his direction in keeping the road in repair: a small house should be built for their reception adjoining to the turnpike, and a certain quantity of ground contiguous to it, should be hired, or purchased for their use, by the cultivation of which they might in a great measure be maintained.

It

It is only necessary farther to remark, upon this branch of the subject, that no apprehensions ought to be entertained, as if the public were incapable of conducting such a plan to advantage. Though the system above mentioned is of a complicated nature, would require able officers, and a considerable degree of attention, yet it would not be more mysterious, or more difficult to execute, and to keep in due regulation, than the great departments of the post-office, the customs, or the excise; than the immense concerns of the East India company, or the various branches which constitute the maritime force of this country. In fact, in such great operations, the only difficulty is, to adjust the machine, and to set it a-going: its movements afterwards may be governed with little dexterity or address.

3. *Coinage.* In every other country in Europe, the prerogative of coining money is attended with some emolument to the sovereign; but in Britain the public is at the sole expence of the manufacture, and receives no reimbursement for the charges it is put to.

The propriety of such a system may be questioned:

In every coin a certain quantity of alloy is necessary, and the greater the proportion of pure metal, the more it is exposed to be diminished by clipping, sweating, and other fraudulent practices; and indeed the more apt it is to be worn away by mere use. It is imagined that a greater quantity of alloy

alloy than is usually put into our British coins, might be of service, would hardly diminish their value, and at the same time would defray the expences of coinage.

When coins are kept of nearly the same fineness with pure metal, if bullion happens to be scarce, individuals are strongly tempted to melt them down for any purpose they may have in view: this may be done without any real loss; and the coin is soon replaced again at the expence of the public. Thus considerable charges are wantonly incurred: but when, in consequence of the stamp and authority of the sovereign, a coin passes in any particular country for perhaps a little more than its real value, it is much less liable to be exported: at least it would be more profitable for the merchant to send out commodities than specie, unless commodities also were less valuable at home than in foreign states^a.

^a M. Necker has treated this subject with his usual ability, but perhaps is mistaken in his assertion, that a quantity of alloy in coins is no obstacle to their exportation. If a louis d'or, for instance, passes for twenty shillings sterling in France, and only eighteen in England, by remitting specie, the French merchant loses two shillings in the pound, and it encourages him to export commodities by which he may be a gainer: whereas the English merchant, for a very opposite reason, sends specie when he finds any difficulty in making remittances by other means. The best recent publication I have seen upon the subject of coinage, is a tract, intitled "A proposal for restoring the ancient constitution of the mint, so far as relates to the expence of Coinage; by the Rev. Rogers Ruding, B. D." Printed anno 1799.

Any

Any great alteration in the value of national money, is a circumstance of great delicacy and danger: at the same time the observations above mentioned, if they are well founded, would tend to the establishment of a system that would render the coinage of money, if not a source of revenue, at least no longer a burden upon the public.

4. Paper
coinage.

The advantages of paper circulation are hardly to be estimated. In every country where commerce flourishes, it is necessary to have a considerable quantity of some common medium of traffic. If paper does not exist, gold and silver must be made use of; and if those valuable metals are not the natural productions of the country, commodities must be exported, in order to procure them from the places where they are to be found. Thus if the paper circulation of Great Britain is equal to thirty millions, had it not existed, we must have exported goods to have brought in specie to that amount, and consequently we must have been thirty millions poorer than we are at present. It is true that we should have had the gold and silver; but even that would have been perpetually diminishing by use; and thirty millions of paper, without any possible loss, by wearing or otherwise, and with great convenience as to safe transportation, &c. answers exactly the same commercial uses, and saves the annual interest that would have been lost, which at five *per cent.* amounts to one million and a half.

The circulation of paper has been already carried to a considerable height in this country, by means
of

of exchequer bills, bank and bankers' notes, &c. : but such at the same time is the magnitude of our commercial transactions, and the immensity of our debts and taxes, that a still greater quantity of current specie is required ; and an addition either of coin or of paper, would be of real service to the community. If in paper, the addition might be issued (should both private and public banking companies decline to undertake it) by the state itself. As above thirty millions *per annum* must now be annually paid, for the interest of the national debt, and for other national expences, if one third of that sum were issued in notes of from one to five pounds each, receivable in payment of taxes, it would be productive of the happiest effects, not only by accommodating individuals, and promoting the improvement of the country, and facilitating circulation ; but also by adding, at the rate of five *per cent.* an income of *half a million* to the public resources. Notes also might be contrived of a new construction, with stamps variously coloured, and paper might be manufactured in a manner different, and greatly superior in point of quality to what is usual at present, so as to prevent almost the possibility of forgery¹. And if the public were to guarantee to the bank, during the continuance of its charter, the dividend which it now receives,

¹ The inner part of the note might be of a thick, the outer of a thinner texture : the thicker part might answer for writing the names of those who circulated the note, should there be any suspicion of forgery.

namely

namely 7 *per cent.* it could sustain no loss, and that opulent body might be prevailed upon to countenance the plan, and to give it every possible assistance.

In regard to the issuing of state notes as a source of public revenue, the advantages thereof is strikingly exemplified, by the accounts lately published, regarding the revenue of South Carolina, where an income is derived, from the interest of what is there called, *the paper medium loan*, of which governor Drayton gives the following account :

“ The interest of this loan is derived from
 “ paper money, amounting to the sum of
 “ £.100,000 sterling, which was issued by this
 “ state, in conformity to an act of the legislature,
 “ passed in the year 1785, and which money is
 “ secured by a mortgage to the state, from the
 “ persons borrowing the same, on lands of three
 “ times, or a deposit of gold or silver plate, of
 “ double the value, and in this manner, it has been
 “ thrown into circulation. The borrowers paying
 “ the interest of 7 *per cent.* yearly on the sums
 “ they have received ; and refunding the principals, at such times, and by such instalments, as
 “ the legislature shall by law direct. From time

* Thus the reader will perceive that the public can at any time raise half a million *per annum*, without taxes, merely by agreeing to circulate what might be called *state notes*, by which means, in the space of only eighty years, £.275,500,000 of 4 *per cent.* stock might be paid off.

“ to time, this loan has been continued for the
 “ conveniency of the borrowers, on their paying
 “ up the interest accrued, and giving such further
 “ security as was deemed necessary. And, at pre-
 “ sent, the loan is thus continued, by act of the
 “ legislature of 1801, to the year 1807. The
 “ interest of this paper medium, receivable by the
 “ state, was originally £.7,000 sterling *per annum* ;
 “ but the principal of the loan has been reduced
 “ at various times, by the full payment of indi-
 “ viduals of the money borrowed, or by enforcing
 “ the payments of the monies borrowed, against
 “ the estates of individuals, who had made default
 “ respecting the same. The paper medium in
 “ circulation, has also been reduced, by burning
 “ portions of the principal, which have been
 “ received into the treasury ¹.”

What is to hinder Great Britain to follow a similar plan. If ten millions of state notes were thus created, and lent, at a moderate interest, for carrying on agricultural and other improvements, finishing the canals, now arrested in their progress by want of capital, and other measures that might be suggested, *this paper medium*, as it is termed in America, would not only augment the prosperity the country, but, if lent at an interest of 5 *per cent.* would add £.500,000 *per annum* to the public revenue. It is probable that some such plan must

¹ See Governor Drayton's View of South Carolina, as respects her natural and civil concerns. Printed at Charleston, anno 1802.

be adopted, as it is evident, there is not at present a sufficient abundance of pecuniary wealth, for the common purposes of circulation. If the corporations, therefore, established for issuing paper, either from timidity or any other circumstance, are not competent to the task of supplying the demands of the public, government must interfere, to prevent that distress which must otherwise overwhelm the country, affecting in the strongest manner, its agriculture, industry, and revenue.

5. Lotteries. Various schemes have been published, for extracting money from the pockets of the people, by means of lotteries. At present the usual state lottery of the year produces a very considerable profit. But it is believed, that in so gambling and luxurious an age, and in a country accustomed to all the risks of mercantile speculation, lotteries are a resource, of which the public might avail itself to a much greater extent, and by which an income of perhaps a million *per annum* might be acquired.

Those taxes, it has been well observed, are always the least obnoxious, where something is got, or may possibly be obtained, by the individual who pays them. The duty on letters is hardly ever complained of, because no person is liable to the tax without receiving something in return: and, on the same principle, it is apprehended, that if a guinea lottery were established, and every householder for every five windows which his house contained, and every landholder for every ten pounds he paid in land-tax, were obliged to take
one

one ticket, a profit of one million would accrue to the state, after paying the necessary prizes. Perhaps there is no mode by which that sum could be raised with less murmur and objection. The usual complaints against lotteries would be urged by the timid and the prejudiced; but there is no plan equally productive, against which as many plausible objections might not be adduced^m.

In time of war, when a state is immersed in difficulties, every idea of obtaining money to ad-^{6. Granting life annuities.} vantage upon contingent annuities, is absurd: but, during peace, the same rule does not hold good. Were the public therefore to establish regulations similar to those by which private societies are enriched, considering that it may act on a much greater scale, the granting of such annuities might prove a very important resource, more particularly in a luxurious age like the present, when every individual aspires to rival his neighbour in expence, and would grasp at so desirable and certain a mode of increasing his income. But care should be taken, to grant annuities only on the life of the person by whom the money is paid; nor should the creditor be suffered to search every where for the best lives, or for people who, from the strength of their constitutions, or other circumstances in their

^m The importance of this resource, which by proper means might be considered as almost a voluntary contribution, will appear from this, that in the short space of sixty years a million *per annum* would pay off 237 millions of 4 *per cent.* stock.

favour, are likely to live beyond the usual short space of human existence*.

7. General
system of
insurance.

In a paper drawn up on the subject of insurance, by an author of great ability and research, (Sir Fred. M. Eden,) there is an estimate of the value of property insurable from fire in Great Britain and Ireland, of which the following is an abstract :

1. Value of houses, including machinery, in England and Wales £.240,000,000
Ditto in Scotland, at one-eighth of the above - 30,000,000

£.270,000,000

2. Furniture in England and Wales - £.120,000,000
Ditto in Scotland at one-eighth - 15,000,000

£.135,000,000

Stock of goods in hand, exclusive of
furniture :—

Clothes	-	£.15,550,000
Plate	-	10,000,000*
Jewels and trinkets	-	5,000,000
Clocks and watches	-	2,000,000
Books	-	5,000,000
Wine and other liquors	-	2,000,000
House and table linen	-	3,000,000

Carry over £.42,550,000 £.135,000,000 £.270,000,000

* I was fortunate enough to purchase at Petersburg the description of a new species of tontine, equally advantageous to the public and to the contributors, calculated by M. Fufs, under the direction of the celebrated Euler, from which many useful hints might be drawn in regard to such establishments. I have often thought, that if annuities were granted by way of lottery, they would stand a better chance of succeeding with the public, than on any other system that could be suggested.

* The plate tax, at 1s. per ounce, produces £.52,000 a year. The value of plate, annually manufactured is not less than £.300,000, and the quantity existing in the kingdom, is taken at thirty times that amount.

Brought over	£.42,550,000	£.135,000,000	£.270,000,000
Horses and carriages	- 2,000,000		
Miscellaneous articles	- 5,450,000		
	£.50,000,000		
Scotland: suppose one-tenth	5,000,000		
		55,000,000	190,000,000

3. Agricultural stock:

Wheat	2,000,000	
Barley and rye	5,000,000	
Oats and beans	12,000,000	
	£.25,000,000	value, at least £.32,000,000
Pease, rape, hops, hay, &c.		20,000,000
Total		£.52,000,000

Of which total, there would be insurable at an average, (deducting what might be consumed from time to time), to the amount of 32,500,000

4. British manufactures for home consumption:

Woollen	-	£.11,000,000
Cotton	-	6,000,000
Leather	-	12,000,000
Flax	-	2,000,000
Hemp	-	2,000,000
Glass	-	2,000,000
Paper	-	1,500,000
Porcelain and pottery	-	2,000,000
Silk	-	3,000,000
Hardware	-	6,000,000
Beer	-	10,000,000
Spirits	-	4,000,000
Soap	-	1,500,000
Salt	-	1,000,000
Candles, (wax, and tallow)	-	2,000,000
Various articles, as books, hats, coaches, &c.	-	10,000,000

		76,000,000
British manufactures for exportation	7	40,000,000
		£.116,000,000

Foreign merchandize in Great Britain, worth above 40,000,000

Total	£.156,000,000
W 2	Carry over £.492,500,000

		Brought over	£.492,500,000
Of which total amount, it is supposed that one-fourth is			
insurable, or			39,000,000
	Tons in 1801. }		
5. Shipping -	1,725,940 }	£.20,000,000	
Plantation Ships -	240,786 Tons	2,000,000	
Ships on the stocks -	-	1,000,000	
		<hr/>	
		£.23,000,000	
Of which suppose one-fourth insurable			5,750,000
			<hr/>
			£.537,250,000
Insurable property in Ireland, supposed to be one-tenth of			
that of Great Britain			53,725,000
			<hr/>
Total insurable property in the united kingdom			£.590,975,000
			<hr/>

There is every reason to believe, that the above estimate is not over-rated, for, notwithstanding the taxes to which insurances are now subject, and which produced, *anno* 1802, the sum of £.167,647, yet goods, to no less an amount than 220 millions, have been insured in the space of one year. There is reason then to suppose, were a proper system adopted, that a large addition to the revenue might be made through the medium of insurance; the best mode of obtaining which might be, the establishment of respectable chartered companies, under this regulation, that one half of the profit, free from expence, should belong to the public, subject to the payment of a certain proportion of the loss, when any was sustained.

8. Converting temporary annuities into perpetual stock.

The South Sea plan was greatly celebrated, for having gained to the public, an additional income of £.133,541, by converting a number of long and short annuities into perpetual stock: and consider-

ing the many temporary annuities that exist at this time, it is apprehended that by the same means, even a greater addition to the revenue might now be obtained[†]. Perpetual, always sell at a better price, than temporary, annuities; and if it were possible to tie down a sinking fund to the payment of the public debts, without the probability of alienation, £.200,000 *per annum* might now be acquired by such a conversion; and the progress of the sinking fund, by such a measure, might be not a little accelerated.

In some departments of the state, particularly those belonging to the law, and even in the navy and other boards, the subordinate offices are sold, to increase the emoluments of those who are at the head of the department; and no complaint has ever been heard, as if such individuals were at all unfit for the offices they had bought, or were in any respect less capable, than those who were appointed in a different manner. In the military department also, all the inferior commissions are publicly and avowedly put up to sale, under certain limitations; and no one can assign any public inconvenience or loss from such a system having been adopted.

These circumstances, joined to the avidity with which an income from the public is sought after by all ranks and descriptions of people, render it

[†] The saving of £.133,541 was gained by converting only £.632,698 of long and short annuities into perpetual stock.

worthy of some consideration, whether the public, in times of difficulty and distress, might not reap a considerable advantage by such a system. In France, the very offices of judicature were sold, and yet it is universally acknowledged, that public justice, at least in civil questions, was as fairly and impartially administered in that country, as in any other. Without extending the plan to such a length, if only the inferior offices in the different departments were sold, instead of being gratuitously bestowed upon the friends of those who are in power, there is every reason to believe, that some millions might be raised for discharging the incumbrances of the nation. The income of such offices, amounts to at least £.1,800,000 a-year, which at only five years purchase would produce nine millions.

10. Sale of
the crown
lands.

Independently of the royal forests, the proper disposal of which has been already stated, there are many lands, rights, and privileges belonging to the crown, which are in their own nature more troublesome than lucrative; and in some cases are let on profitable leases to persons of weight and influence in the country, or perhaps totally granted away during the life of some particular favourite.

Since the dignity of the sovereign is maintained by a sum voted by parliament, at the accession of every monarch to the throne, it is absurd to retain any vestige of the ancient feudal system. The little that now remains ought to be sold for the benefit of the public, as the only means by which any

any solid advantage can be reaped from it¹. Whilst it continues in its present state, it must ever prove unproductive and inefficient : if brought to market, much of that property, (the crown rents in particular), might be disposed of at thirty, if not forty years purchase.

There are other lands also dedicated to public purposes, namely, the property of the church, whether belonging to deans or chapters, or the colleges in the two universities, together with the estates of the different corporations in England, which, if land sold at any tolerable rate, might not only yield a sum of money equivalent to their present income, but might furnish a considerable surplus to assist the public in discharging its incumbrances. It has been frequently remarked, that such property, whilst it remains under the government of trustees, is seldom improved in an equal degree with the estates of individuals. Hence a strong additional inducement arises, to bring all property of that description into other hands.

Perhaps the most important document, brought to light by the select committee on finance, who sat in the year 1797, is the list of the several offices, who have returned schedules of *desperate debts*, of which the following is a copy :

^{11.} By the
sale of pub-
lic debts.

¹ It has been proposed to sell the crown and waste lands by way of *lottery* ; and such a plan perhaps might not be unadvisable.

No.	Name of the office	Date of oldest infuser.	Total of desperate Debts in an office.
1.	Customs -	1676	£.585,119 14 5 ³ / ₄
2.	Hawkers and pedlars	1715	39,321 6 4
3.	Hackney coaches	1716	5,731 7 6
4.	Hanaper in chancery	1650	644 1 7
5.	Navy -	1688	3,182,726 19 2 ¹ / ₂
6.	Ordnance -	1673	83,928 10 1
7.	Post office -	1685	53,955 2 11
8.	Salt office -	1694	30,730 7 6 ¹ / ₂
9.	Stamps -	1703	19,791 1 9 ¹ / ₂
10.	Sick and hurt -	1731	332,754 5 11 ¹ / ₂
11.	Victualling -	1685	251,746 5 3 ¹ / ₂
			£.4,586,449 2 7 ¹ / ₂

Nothing can furnish a stronger proof, of the shameful and culpable inattention of the ministers of this country, to its public expenditure, than the preceding account of desperate debts; all expectation of the payment of which, must now be abandoned. The importance of this subject to the public, will appear from this circumstance; that as several of those sums were due above a century ago, there is little doubt, that if they had been exacted when due, and accumulated ever after at compound interest, the nation would have been at least £.100,000,000 less in debt at present, and in the space of fifty years more, the accumulation of the same fund, would have totally discharged the existing national incumbrances. But as there are many accounts, not yet considered desperate, from which little advantage can be expected, without

* See the twenty-second Report of the Select Committee on Finance, Appendix H, No. IV. p. 109.

more

more care than is usually paid to public claims, I am thence led to suggest the following plan to the consideration of the reader.

When the celebrated Ayr bank in Scotland had stopt payment, it had, on its books, a number of debts, not likely to be available. Had the bank attempted to enforce payment, much time would have been uselessly wasted, and a great expence would have been incurred, which would have devoured all the profit. The directors therefore wisely resolved, to set up those debts to public sale, and to assign them to the highest bidder. By this plan, they realized a considerable sum, without any deduction. The same system, I would recommend, in the case of all debts due to the public, outstanding beyond five years. After that period, there is a great risk of their being altogether lost sight of, and included in the desperate list, and this plan is the more necessary, because such debts are generally due by individuals, related to, or connected with, persons in power, who are too apt to sacrifice the public interest to private friendship or connection.

When one considers the preceding account, the variety of unnecessary expences which the nation has incurred, and the improvident manner in which its debts were contracted, by giving unfair advantages to the holders of navy and victualling bills, &c. ; it can hardly be accounted too bold an assertion to say, that had we been blest with careful and prudent ministers, and had the subject of
revenue

revenue been as well understood formerly as it now is, this country would have done as much, would have carried on as extensive wars, and would have brought them to as successful an issue, without being at this moment a shilling in debt*.

When

* As a sample of our public extravagance in constituting our public debts, I think it right to subjoin the following letter, which appeared in the Morning Herald, on the 15th January 1789.

“ Having stated, that there is now above seventeen millions of unfunded debt, which carried a very heavy interest, and is, therefore, every day increasing, it is necessary to enquire from what causes this enormous debt has arisen.

“ One of the causes has unquestionably been, from the unprecedented mode of funding the navy debt in 1784 and 1785.

“ It appears from the Appendix to the 11th report of the commissioners of the public accounts, No. 39. that the amount of the navy and ordnance debt, on the 31st of October 1783, was £.12,742,415, bearing an interest of £.465,737 *per annum*.

“ The amount of the 5 *per cent.* stock, created from the navy and ordnance debt, was on the 5th January 1786, £.17,869,993, carrying an interest of £.902,414 *per annum*, charges paid to the Bank for management included.

“ By contrasting the management of the navy debt in 1763, with the management in 1784 and 1785, the difference between right and wrong will be seen.

“ At the close of the war in 1763, a very considerable unfunded debt was found to exist, which when the German claims were settled amounted to £ 14,058,570, of which £.3,483,553 was in that year formed into stock at the Bank, under the title of four *per cent.* Navy; in 1765, £.870,880 of that navy debt was paid off, and at the end of that year there remained no more than £.4,382,959 of unfunded debt, exclusive of the deficiencies of land and malt.

“ Mr.

When the East India Company, *anno* 1783, gave in an account of their situation and circumstances to parliament, they stated that they were indebted to sundry persons for dividends and interest

12. Stocks
and funded
property un-
demanded.

“ Mr. Grenville, in his pamphlet published in 1766, truly remarks, that suffering the navy bill-holders to write their bills into four *per cent.* stock was sufficient advantage, as they made their interest due into principal, and were enabled to divide their property, which they could not have done whilst in the shape of a navy bill.

“ Instead of opening books for the navy bill-holders to write their bills into, as had been done in 1763, Mr. Pitt breaks the bargain already made, and grants terms to the navy bill-holders, to which they had no claim whatever, or had the least expectation of at the time the contract was made.

“ It must be here remarked, that when a contract is made with the navy board, the amount of the goods is cast up agreeable to such contract, to which sum is added as much more, as is the current rate of discount of navy bills at the time such bill is issued, so that the contractor may carry his bill immediately to market, and get in ready money the nett amount of the goods for which he had contracted with government.

“ The higher the discount, so much the better for the monied man.

“ The lower the discount, so much the better for the public, the payers of taxes.

“ In the years 1761, and 1762, the discount was about ten *per cent.* the monied man laying out a thousand pounds could then buy a navy bill of the amount of £.1111 2 0 nearly which at four *per cent.* for two years

88 18 0

made his stock in the Bank

£.1200 0 0

the dividend on which was £.48 *per annum*, and he was paid off in 1765, and the following years at par.

“ The

terest due, but not yet demanded, on their stock, annuities, and bonds, the sum of £.149,901, and it is probable that the sum of undemanded interest in the other funds, is proportionably considerable¹.

“ The monied man in 1781, or 1782, could purchase navy bills at twenty *per cent.* discount or more, but reckoning at that rate £.1000, would buy navy bills, amount £. 1250
add three years interest at 4 *per cent. per annum.* 150

Principal and interest £. 1400

made into stock at £.111 : 8 *per cent.* is £.1559 : 12 stock bearing an annual interest of £.77 : 19 : 6.

“ He sold his stock at £.115 *per cent.* he would receive in money - £. 1795

Original sum laid out under Mr. Pitt's management 1000

Profit to the monied man £. 795

Profit to the monied man in the former case 200

The year 1785 worse for the public than 1763 £. 595

On £. 1000.

“ Thus did Mr. Pitt unnecessarily load the people with two hundred and ninety thousand pounds taxes *per annum*, in perpetuity, by following his own measures in 1784 and 1785, instead of pursuing the plain path and precedent laid down and practised in 1763.

“ £.290,000 *per annum*, at twenty-five years purchase, amounts to 7,250,000, which was by this measure distributed amongst those who had already profited too much from the misfortunes of the country.”

¹ By 13 Geo. I. cap. 3. (see also Commons Journals, vol. xx. p. 799. and vol. xxi. p. 665.) the sum £.10,725 : 5 : 3½ then remaining in the exchequer, on the head of the banker's debt, and never claimed, was appropriated to the sinking fund, in case no sufficient claim should afterwards be made to the whole, or to any part thereof.

Various

Various circumstances contribute to accumulate, in the different funds, a considerable sum of undemanded property. Some, amongst those who place their property in the stocks, are anxious to have their wealth concealed, and the secret not unfrequently dies with them. Many of the public creditors, either residing abroad, or being the natives of other countries, leave behind them no evidence of the property they possess: and there are others, who, raised by their own industry to the possession of considerable wealth, either die intestate, or have no relations whom they care to acknowledge, or who can claim a legitimate connexion with them. Considering these circumstances joined to the immense amount of the present national debt, it is not to be wondered at, that in the space of almost a century, the undemanded dividends and interest should accumulate to a very considerable sum.

But the interest is not the only object that ought to be kept in view: the principal sums to which that interest relates, are much more material, and might be appropriated to the same purposes. If any individual can prove that he is entitled to any stock, though his claim has lain dormant for some time, it ought not to be proscribed: but, subject to that restriction, all property in the funds, whether interest or principal, that has not been claimed for thirty years, ought to be dedicated for the purpose of discharging the incumbrances of the nation.

Nor

Nor are there wanting other resources of a similar nature. Of the property now standing in the name of the accountant-general, belonging to the suitors in chancery, a considerable part will never be demanded; and the interest thereof, instead of being expended in unnecessary buildings, (such as those erected in Chancery-lane*), might be much better employed for the purposes above mentioned. By placing also under the direction of such commissioners, all property, whether landed or personal, that accrues to the crown, by crimes, by forfeiture, or by death, considerable sums might be obtained, which the sovereign can hardly exact for his own emolument, but of which the public might avail itself.

23. The
Bank.

The capital of the bank of England, at present, amounts to £.11,642,400, which at three *per cent.* the interest the public pays, yields only £.350,604. But the sum which the proprietors annually divide among themselves is £.814,968, consequently the gain arising from their traffic is £.464,364 *per annum*. It is supposed that the profits of the company must be much more considerable: as the

* By 14 Geo. III. cap. 13. and 20 Geo. III. cap. 33. the sum of £. 13,000, in all was appropriated for the building the offices of the register and accountant-general; together with an indefinite sum, arising from the interest of £.50,000, of suitors money for rebuilding the six clerks office. Those buildings being now completed, no good reason can be assigned why the public should not derive some benefit from the same resource.

charter

charter of the bank, however, has been lately prolonged, the public is not immediately interested in making such an investigation: but when a new charter is granted, it is to be hoped that so important a resource will not be thrown away for any trifling consideration. By securing only one half of the profits of the Company, the public might add above two hundred thousand pounds to its annual income.

But of all the resources which this country may boast of, none can equal its possessions in the East, ^{14. The East India.} for pecuniary advantages; and thence alone a treasure might be drawn, sufficient of itself to discharge the incumbrances of the nation. For that purpose it might be proper to guarantee to the proprietors of India stock, what they would consider to be a sufficient value for their property, namely, one *per cent.* above the interest they now receive; and to dedicate, to public purposes, all the surplus profits of the commerce, and of the territorial possessions; unless it were thought more advisable, retaining the trade to China, to throw open the rest of that commerce to the nation in general.

The importance of this resource will appear from a statement of the trade that is carried on to the East, and the immediate revenue that is enjoyed by the company.

The exports to India for the year ending 1st March 1804, amounted to £.2,231,703, exclusive of £.1,526,716 in bullion.

The

The value of the imports for the year ending 1st March, 1803, was as follows :

Company's goods	-	-	£.6,048,028
Private trade goods	-	-	3,512,364
Neutral property	-	-	67,759
			<hr/>
Total			9,628,131

But great as this commerce is at present, it will probably be doubled when the trade with China is relieved from its present restrictions and embarrassments; and when new channels of traffic are opened with Japan, and other opulent countries in Asia².

The

² Government, with some difficulty, was persuaded to send an ambassador to China, for the purpose of opening a more advantageous intercourse with that empire. The late Colonel Cathcart was pitched upon, and sent unaccompanied by any colleague, though it was well known that his state of health was such as to furnish very small hopes indeed, that he could ever reach the place of his destination. This very gallant and intelligent young man died in his way, as had been foreseen; and the frigate in which he went returned *re infecta*. Thus the expences of that embassy were entirely lost. Lord Macartney was afterwards sent, without producing any effect. In order to promote the views of that embassy, the following paper was drawn up, for the purpose of explaining to the Chinese those general principles which render Great Britain desirous of carrying on a commercial intercourse with other countries, and with a view of lessening that jealousy, by which the government of China is so peculiarly distinguished.

These

The income of the company's territorial possessions in the East, according to the statement given by

These principles may thus be shortly stated :

1.—Great Britain being an island, it naturally rests its principal defence on its naval power. That power cannot be raised to any height, without having great numbers of its subjects habituated to the sea. The cheapest and best mode of having a multitude of seamen, is, by the possession of foreign commerce *on a large scale*. On that account it has ever been considered an important object in this country, to have as extensive a trade, and as great a number of ships and seamen as possible : and this is a point of much more consequence to Great Britain, on account of its insular situation, than to any other country in the universe of similar extent and power ; and hence, in a great measure, arises that peculiar anxiety which it has ever entertained for the acquisition of foreign commerce.

2.—Every wise government is desirous of giving occupation to its people. Unless they are engaged in some employment or other, they are too apt to become either vicious or disorderly. It is only to a certain extent that the subjects of a state can be employed in the cultivation of the soil. A certain number of people may also find occupation in manufacturing articles necessary for the consumption of their fellow citizens. But many must be idle, unless they are employed either in manufacturing articles to be sent to other countries, or in transporting them abroad. Thus, foreign commerce is of use, in securing the internal peace and quiet of the country, and hence arises another ground or argument for its extension.

3.—It is desirable to increase commercial intercourse among nations as much as possible, were it only for the purpose of multiplying human enjoyments. By exchanging the commodities of one country for those of another, both are evidently benefitted. Great Britain, for instance, is peculiarly calculated for pasturage : its inhabitants, therefore, live much upon butchers' meat, from the nature of which species of food, they

by Lord Castlereagh, on the 29th July, 1803, was as follows :

	Sterling.
Revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa	£.7,612,384
Madras	4,670,369
Bombay	410,280
	<hr/>
Total	£.12,693,033
	<hr/>
Charges	£. 9,998,147
	<hr/>
Net revenue	£.2,694,886
	From

are glad to procure, even from China, an article, like tea, an infusion of which is favourable to digestion. The Chinese, on the other hand, residing in a country, by nature less favourable to pasturage, must of consequence be benefitted by exchanging their tea, for the manufactures produced from the fleeces of the British flocks, as they are thus enabled to procure a species of clothing, in many respects superior to any other.

4. But, in fact, the great object of commercial intercourse is, to improve human knowledge, and to bring it to the greatest possible perfection. *What wonderful discoveries have not been made in Europe, in consequence of the free and unrestrained communication that has taken place in that quarter of the globe.* To that is to be attributed the perfection to which navigation has been brought—The great improvements of geography—The important discoveries of medicine, by which the health of man is so materially benefitted, his existence prolonged, and rendered more comfortable—To commerce must be attributed, the great perfection to which the arts have been brought in Europe, more especially those of music, poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture, &c.—To commerce must be ascribed the wonderful improvements of chemistry. The invention of those machines

From this amount, there are various deductions, making allowance for which, there is still a balance of £.1,507,316 sterling.

chines so useful in various manufactures. The means of empowering those who are almost deaf to hear, or those who are almost blind to see. Thence we are enabled with Smeaton, to work at the bottom of the sea in safety; or with Mongolfier, to ascend above the loftiest mountains.—Hence also we can trace, with Newton, the nature of the globe we live in, the motions of the Heavens around us, and to pry into the profoundest secrets of nature.—Hence we can enjoy the benefit of the collected knowledge of ages,—all the treasures of varied literature, and all the advantages of political society under its best constituted forms of government.

To bring human knowledge to perfection, and to make society as happy as the imperfection of our nature will admit, perhaps nothing is wanting, but a free and unrestrained intercourse with China. That empire has long been distinguished for the wisdom of its internal regulations, and for the genius and talents of its subjects. Europe, therefore, expects to learn many useful branches of information from it, and is willing in return to communicate all the important discoveries which it has acquired.

Should that intercourse take place in the reign of the great and magnanimous sovereign who now sits upon the throne of China, his name will be handed down with equal veneration and respect in Europe as in Asia. He will have the glory of being accounted one of the greatest benefactors to mankind that the world has ever seen, and perhaps ought to be accounted the individual who will have the most essentially contributed to the real happiness of the species.

N. B. The improvement of a public revenue, and the acquisition of wealth, are other grounds which render the extension of foreign commerce desirable, but these are not dwelt upon for obvious reasons.

With such means to work upon, how is it possible to doubt, that by any tolerable management, at least from one to two millions might be annually brought into the public exchequer?

But it will be said, how can the East furnish such resources to the public, and at the same time prove so unproductive and inefficient to its present possessors? This it is believed may be accounted for.

It can hardly be expected that a company of merchants, occupied with their own affairs, and immersed in their own private business, should be able to govern an extensive and powerful empire, at such a distance from the place where they reside. Indeed, the only possible means of having such remote concerns properly managed, is to place them under the direction of a few individuals, whose whole time should be dedicated to that single object, and consequently who may be supposed better able to regulate them to advantage; the conduct of such individuals being always open to public inspection, and subject to every necessary control.

Besides, the officers of a mercantile company, must ever retain the commercial prejudices and spirit of their employers. Immediate gain, though acquired by violence, will ever be preferred to distant profits, the advantages of which are gradual and remote. A contrary system, it is probable, would be adopted by the public and its servants ;
and

and hence, in process of time, its gains would be more considerable.

It is hardly possible for a company of merchants, to retain those whom they employ, in the same discipline and good order, that the public might easily do. The least instance of severity in such a company would be considered, particularly in a free country like England, as highly blameable; and hence their servants, being flattered with the hope of impunity, is it to be wondered at, that they should give occasion for the numerous complaints which have been made of their tyranny and oppression?

The idea of a mercantile company possessing a distant empire, inhabited by so many millions of people, is so new an event in the history of mankind, that their subjects must be prejudiced against such rulers; and the neighbouring powers must view them with jealousy and contempt: treaties must be entered into under every possible disadvantage, and considered rather as temporary suspensions of hostility, than as the basis of solid peace.

The expence of holding those possessions must ultimately be defrayed by the public. Unprotected by the fleets and armies of Great Britain, and unguarded by the terror of her name, they would soon fall a prey, either to some European power, or to some eastern potentate: and as that will ever be the case, why should not the nation reap the advantage, since it must be loaded with the expence?

The debts with which the East India Company are at present incumbered, tie up its resources, prevent it from enjoying its revenues in the manner it might otherwise do, and keep it in perpetual poverty and distress. But if the public were to take its possessions and its debts together, its creditors would at once be satisfied, and full time would be given gradually to discharge them.

The shipping made use of in the commerce to the East is another material consideration. The company at present pay an enormous freight for every vessel they send out: whereas the public might make use of its own ships in time of peace, and even in time of war, its vessels, unfit for hostile operations, would answer the purposes of carrying merchandise. By building Indiamen also, calculated either for commerce or war, a very important addition might be made to the maritime strength of the empire. Indiamen might easily be contrived so as to be converted, without difficulty, into fifty-gun ships; and from 6,000 to 7,000 seamen are now employed by the company, who, on great emergencies, might altogether be taken into the service of the public. Our naval officers might thus be kept in perpetual practice, in peace as well as in war; which cannot be effected by any other means, except at an enormous expence⁷.

Another

⁷ I have often wondered that government has never proposed to freight ships to the company, even on the present footing,

Another advantage that the nation would reap is this, that smuggling would be entirely put an end to. It is proposed that the tea trade should belong exclusively to the public, as that is a branch perfectly distinct, and more easily conducted than any other; and if the exchequer reaped all the profits resulting from it, a great revenue might be raised, without giving the illegal trader any advantage. In regard to the other branches of our Asiatic commerce, were that commerce thrown open, it might soon be doubled: new articles, both of export and import, would be discovered. But if, instead of increasing, it were to continue on its present footing, private traders might well afford the duties now paid by the company, and an additional 10 *per cent.* (by which government would be more than indemnified for the dividend it guaranteed to the proprietors), and no contraband trade would take place. Such are the advantages that our merchants would enjoy in the settlements we possess in the East, and such is the superiority of this country in matters of navigation and commerce, when it fairly enters into competition with its rivals.

The only possible objection that can be urged against such a measure is, that the constitution might suffer by such an accession to the power and

footing, merely for the sake of employing its officers and its seamen. We might thus have a considerable addition to our peace establishment, without any increase of expence.

influence of the crown. But surely the liberties of Great Britain do not rest upon so slender a foundation; and if the proposed alteration had the effect of diminishing and paying off the national debt, that circumstance alone would throw such an additional weight into the scale of national freedom and independence, as ought to put an end to all such apprehensions.

On the whole, it is hoped that a resource of such value and importance, will no longer be suffered to remain, under an administration of so mixed and complicated a nature; but, on the contrary, that by establishing a clear and perspicuous system, plain, simple, and replete with vigour, the British government may yet prove the source of happiness and security to many millions of our fellow-creatures in those distant regions; whilst they, at the same time, may contribute to relieve this country, from the many heavy burdens with which it is oppressed.

Conclusion.

I have thus stated every idea, which has either occurred to myself, or, so far as my knowledge reaches, has been suggested by others, that has a tendency to prove the financial strength and resources of this country: resources which, if we are governed by able statesmen, may be accounted almost inexhaustible; and which, at any rate, in process of time, and under management even barely tolerable, cannot fail to furnish an increase of many millions *per annum* to our present national income.

By

By some it may possibly be contended, that in the course of the preceding investigation, the author has carried his ideas of an economical nature to a faulty extreme, and has submitted plans, in themselves impracticable, to the consideration of the public. But many schemes, at first supposed to be visionary, have succeeded by perseverance and attention: *possunt quia posse videntur*, is a maxim which every nation ought to keep in remembrance. To the active and determined, hardly any plan is unattainable: by men of such a character the greatest obstacles may be removed, and the greatest difficulties surmounted; and whilst a fatal jealousy subsists between Great Britain and France, every idea, whether economical or otherwise, must be kept in view, that can possibly produce any pecuniary advantages; for no man can foresee to what necessities one or both may be reduced by their mutual animosities.

After such an enumeration, however, it is to be hoped, that the chimerical terrors of desponding patriots, will be no longer listened to by the public, and that no idle rumours, no unimportant incidents abroad; no events in which Britain cannot be materially interested; nor even actual war, unless on terms to the highest degree unequal, will have any material effect, in diminishing the credit of the country, or destroying the confidence that ought to be placed in its resources and in its strength.

COMPARISON *between the Resources of Great Britain and France, as the same was drawn up Anno 1786.*

THE following comparison between the resources of Great Britain and France, drawn up anno 1786, and printed in the second edition of the History of the Revenue, it was thought advisable to reprint at this time, on various accounts, but more especially, as it contained a prediction of the French Revolution several years before it actually took place. The foundation, however, had been laid, and the crisis seemed to be fast approaching, when the author visited France, anno 1786-7. He was thence induced to state his opinion, of the events which were likely to happen in that country.

After some general observations regarding the resources of Great Britain and France, he thus proceeded :

“ It is a fortunate circumstance, however, for this country, that the resources of the two nations can bear no comparison with each other, and that those possessed by Great Britain so greatly preponderate.”

“ The present state of the French finances has lately been explained to the world, by an author possessed of all the advantages that a fertile genius, a lively fancy, sound judgment, and intense application,

application, could bestow; who was invested with authority sufficient to command every necessary information, and who is now again in a situation, to carry such plans into execution, as are likely to prove beneficial to the empire that he governs. It is natural for one, who has been ambitious of treading in the same paths, to wish that he had enjoyed similar means of intelligence and of power."

"But what was the statement which M. Necker, with all that partiality which he must naturally feel for France, gave of the finances of that country four years ago? The annual expence of the nation he estimated at 610,000,000 livres French, or £.25,400,000 sterling: whereas the income of the taxes annually levied on the inhabitants of France, produced only 585,000,000 livres, or £.24,375,000 sterling*: and though the royal domains, and other miscellaneous resources, might possibly yield about fifteen millions more, yet there was at that time an acknowledged deficiency of about ten millions of livres, which has since turned out still more considerable."

"Nor is it difficult to prove, that few of the resources above enumerated, can be made use of, or attempted in France."

"In regard to economical arrangements, it is well known that M. Necker, during his former administration, carried these ideas to as great a height

* See vol. ii. chap. xii.

as they were capable of, in a despotic and luxurious monarchy: for the court of France, like every arbitrary administration, is nothing but a faction confederated together for the government of that great and powerful kingdom; and this faction is upheld, and receives perpetual accessions, from the hopes that every individual belonging to it entertains, of having some share in the plunder of the nation. But if ever those hopes are destroyed; if frugality is ever carried to any extreme; if all expectations of sharing in the spoils of the public are annihilated, the power of the faction would quickly cease, and a revolution would be the necessary consequence."

Prophecy,
An. 1786,
of the
French Re-
volution.

"Besides, such has been the impolitic conduct of the French cabinet, in supporting the independence of North America; in suffering the natives of that country to spread their wild ideas of republicanism throughout every corner of the kingdom; and indeed so much have the bold compositions written in this country in favour of liberty, and the legal rights of mankind, been circulated there; that the seeds of important political changes seem to be sown, which greater restrictions on the royal bounty would have a tendency to accelerate. I consider, therefore, any farther economical arrangements in the internal government of France, as inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom, or not likely to be permanent; and it is hardly necessary to remark, that the French have no foreign fortresses like Gibraltar to dispose of, and that no savings can be made

made in bounties or drawbacks, where hardly any have been established."

"As to improvements in the existing revenue, it is well known that many attempts have been made to enforce that important regulation of levying an equal duty upon salt throughout the kingdom, but always ineffectually. Though the government of France is invested with uncontrouled authority over the property, the person, and the life of every private individual; yet the privileges claimed by incorporated societies, or bodies of men, cannot be touched. That is the only check upon the despotism of the crown; and were it to be removed, every native of that country would consider himself as delivered up, without resource, to all the horrors of slavery. Hence a stand will ever be made against any great alteration in the financial rights claimed by the different provinces in the kingdom; and whilst that continues to be the case, no important improvement can be made with regard to the existing taxes."

"It is a singular circumstance attending despotic governments, that however arbitrary they may be in other respects, yet it is very difficult for them to impose new taxes upon their subjects. The Grand Signior, with all his power and authority, cannot add to his revenue, though the safety of the Ottoman empire depended upon its being increased: and though in France that principle is not carried to the same height, yet still there are various obstacles to any augmentation of imposts. It is thought necessary in the royal edict to explain the

the reasons, and to prove the necessity of the measure; nor is it accounted strictly legal, until the new ordinance is registered by the different parliaments in the kingdom, who often raise scruples with a view of rendering themselves popular. The case in this country is very different. Such is the confidence placed by the public at large in the British parliament, that the raising of money, when once voted, never meets with any opposition. Nay, however anxious any set of men may be to thwart the minister of the day, they know well that nothing would be so generally odious with the people, as throwing any obstacles in the way of raising the supplies. Particular taxes may be objected to; but there is hardly an instance of any individual in parliament attempting to prevent government from raising any sum of money, however enormous, that was thought necessary for the exigencies of the state."

"Nay, if the difficulties that arise from the nature of the government of France were to be removed*, yet still it is much to be questioned, whether any material increase of revenue is consistent with the circumstances of the people. The poor, it is well known, are already loaded as heavily as they can bear; and such is the style in which the *noblesse* are obliged to live, in order to maintain their rank and dignity in the state, that their income cannot

* It is impossible to foresee what may be the consequences of the meeting of the *Etats Generaux* of France; but the probability is, that it will not add much either to the income, or to the liberties of that kingdom.

bear any material diminution. Indeed it will not be attempted, if the ancient spirit of their nobles remains; and if that spirit is gone, who is there to prop up the former military strength and ardour of the nation!"

"Besides, taxes cannot be carried in any country to the utmost extent of which they are capable, unless there is great public credit, considerable internal commerce, and extensive paper circulation. How could the taxes now paid by each province of France be conveyed to the capital without these advantages, if they were to be doubled? By bills of exchange, or in bank notes, the taxes of the remotest corner of Great Britain may be remitted: but miserable would be the case of such districts, if specie alone were to be sent; and if every year they were obliged to supply themselves with a fresh quantity for that purpose. Until France enjoys the same conveniences, its revenue cannot be greatly augmented."

"Nor does it appear to me that any of those financial operations, which stand a chance of proving so beneficial to this country, could be successful in France. It would be vain to expect in any arbitrary government, to derive much profit from encouraging voluntary contributions; and as to the resources arising from the proper employment of the poor, from circulating parliamentary paper, from sharing in the profits of a national bank, and from appropriating to public purposes the revenues of an extensive empire in the East, there is nothing in France of a similar nature. Indeed the only

two solid resources belonging to that country are, the property of the crown, and the property of the church. But whether the latter can be infringed upon, or attacked, considering the superstition of the people; whether it would be prudent in a kingdom so populous and extensive, to loosen the bands of religion, by which it has in a great measure been kept together; and whether an increase of religions would not necessarily draw on an augmentation of civil privileges, are points concerning which it would not become a foreigner to hazard an opinion."

"Unfortunate indeed it is for both countries, that any comparison between their mutual strength should be at all necessary; and still more so, that in the course of so many recent wars that strength should so often have been measured. The folly and madness of such frequent hostilities, surely, do not require to be again illustrated, so soon after a celebrated foreign statesman (Necker) has delivered his sentiments on the subject. Nothing can be better founded than the arguments which he makes use of against such destructive contests; nor brighter than the eloquence with which he describes all the horrors and miseries of war. May he not have written in vain! May sovereigns be awakened, by his sage reflections, from the illusions of vanity and ambition! And thence may a new epocha arise in the history of the human species, when ardent warriors shall no longer meet with hostile eyes; but the whole earth shall exhibit one universal scene of industry and peace."

APPEN-

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

A N A L Y S I S

OF THE

SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

Nulla quies gentium, sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis, haberi possunt.

TACIT. *Hist. lib. 4.*

INTRODUCTION.

IN early periods of political society, the necessity and advantages of a public revenue are either unknown or disregarded. The members of those little communities which are at first formed among mankind, are in too poor and indigent a state, and indeed are too much occupied in procuring for themselves the necessaries of life, to be able to afford any pecuniary assistance for general purposes; nor is the magistrate invested with authority sufficient to exact from them any share of the property they possess for the service of the public*.

But in process of time, when more regular and more complicated systems of government are established, it is found indispensably necessary to fix upon some means of raising a fund for defraying the national expences. When the rights of private property are fully ascertained, individuals become more desirous of attending to their own personal concerns than to the less interesting business of the nation, and unless some public property is at the same time appropriated for such essential purposes, unless the labour of those who are employed in the service of the state is fully recompensed, little attention will be paid to the common interest, or the general safety.

At first every individual is trained to arms, and satisfied with the plunder he acquires, and the glory of military achievements, he disdains any other emolument; but when the military art is improved by practice and experience,

* There is also at the period to which I have alluded a strong suspicion and jealousy of those who either assume to themselves, or are voluntarily intrusted with the government of public affairs. Individuals, who have just emerged from a state of independance, cannot brook to see an individual, recently on a footing with themselves, at once invested with some degree of authority over them, and possessed of greater property and wealth: hence, as in the case of the first Tarquin, those ambitious men who have aspired to rule over their fellow-citizens, have found it necessary not only to avoid exacting any revenue from their subjects, but also have been obliged to incorporate their own private property with the treasures of the public.

when campaigns are lengthened in their duration, and wars become more tedious, men of little property, of whom armies are principally composed, find it impossible to maintain themselves at a distance from their own private possessions, or even to purchase the necessary instruments of war, without public aid: and in maritime states this source of expence must be still more considerable, where fleets are necessary to defend the coasts of the empire, and the commerce of its subjects.

The most opulent, also, as an ingenious author has well remarked *, are not always the best qualified to preside in the cabinet, or to command in the field. Opulence damps activity, palliates the appetite for study, and the thirst of knowledge; and if no fund were appropriated for defraying the national expences, either the poor would be obliged to neglect their affairs, and to waste their little acquisitions in defending the public, or the nation would be served by its members, in many cases the least suited for important employments.

Many unavoidable sources of expence also must arise in all numerous and extensive societies. The public property must often be expended in supporting the majesty of the people, and the dignity of the sovereign: magnificent edifices must be erected for the worship of the deity, the residence of the monarch, or the assemblies of the people: religious establishments must be maintained: encouragement given to trade and to learning: merit and public services must be rewarded: a connexion kept up with the neighbouring, if not with distant states: and the laws rendered more respectable, by investing the magistrates to whose care the execution of them are intrusted, with valuable emoluments or possessions. On these accounts principally it has been found necessary to establish a public revenue; nor have the most patriotic governments been able to preserve internal order, to increase their power and territory, or even to defend themselves from the attacks of their enemies, without its assistance.

But however necessary a public revenue may be, yet, when it is drawn from improper sources, or when too much is extorted from individuals, and squandered by the public, no circumstance has given rise to louder or more frequent complaints. History teems with execrations against public plunderers, and their extortions have often occasioned such tumults and convulsions among the people they oppress, as have proved fatal to themselves and to their country. To examine, therefore, into the sources of public revenue, to point out, where the springs are clear and wholesome, where muddy and noxious, is surely one of the most important objects of political inquiry, if not the best intitled to a statesman's attention.

The sources whence a public revenue may be drawn are,

1. Property vested in the public;
2. Rights, or public lucrative prerogatives intrusted to the government of a country;
3. Voluntary contributions;
4. Involuntary contributions, or taxes on individuals legally exacted; and
5. Public loans, whether compulsive or voluntary †.

And here it may be remarked, as a singular circumstance, that taxes or contributions are first voluntary, and then become compulsive; whereas loans, on the other hand, are first compulsive, and then become voluntary.

* *Kaims' Sketches*, vol. i. p. 456.

† See the Table of these sources in detail, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 58.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of Public Demesnes.

IF we examine the different sources from whence the revenues of a state may be drawn, that arising from public demesnes will be found the most natural and the most obvious. No sooner are the rights of property established, than the value and importance of territorial possessions is quickly discovered; and as other sources of public revenue are unknown, a considerable share of the common territory is generally allotted for the purposes of the state.

The stability of land also seems to render it peculiarly suited for a public patrimony. Unlike personal property, it can neither be usurped by open violence, nor filched away by the pilferer of the night. Its limits, if not well known, can be easily ascertained. Its fruitfulness can only be diminished by improper neglect, or shameful mismanagement. Every year new productions are brought forward, and the sterility of one season is often compensated by the exuberance of another.

Monarchy, also, was in general the form of government adopted by political communities at their first establishment; and it was natural to distinguish the sovereign from his subjects by more extensive territories, and more valuable possessions. The dignity to which the supreme magistrate was raised, must necessarily have increased the number of those who depended on him for support, but whom he could not maintain without a greater extent of land than others could lay claim to.

Nor was it with a trifling share of the common territory that monarchs were contented. One third of the property of the primitive Romans was appropriated for the use of the sovereign. The public demesnes of the kings of Egypt were proportionally extensive; nay, so immense were the territories which the kings of Persia enjoyed, that large tracts of country were set aside for supplying the queens with veils, girdles, and other insignificant articles of dress.

In ancient times it would appear that the sovereign occupied his own territorial possessions, and lived upon the produce of his demesnes. We often read of the king's shepherds, who tended the royal flocks, and were answerable for the profit to their masters*. To omit other instances, it may be sufficient to observe, that the famous Semiramis was bred up by the superintendant of the king's herds, and from that rustic life was raised to the throne of Assyria. The king's shepherd, Faustulus, was the means of preserving the infant Romulus, born to lay the foundations of the empire of the world.

But neither that, nor any other mode of managing the public demesnes, is found adequate to the national expences. If the public territory is let for certain rents payable in kind, the articles will be paid of a bad quality, and of inferior value. If these articles are converted into money, the change generally takes place at a period when the value of agricultural productions is low and trifling, and it is reckoned oppressive in after times to demand an addition. The revenue arising from public demesnes, therefore, never increases with the increasing expences of the state; the sovereign is wearied of attending to an immense subject, which is far from answering the original purposes for which

* *Ant. Un. Hist.* vol. v. p. 170.

it was intended, and anxiously explores from what other sources a revenue may be drawn.

When the public income becomes inferior to the public expences, the contraction of great and heavy debts must be the necessary consequence; and a sale of the crown lands is an obvious expedient by which these debts may be paid off; an expedient which the wife and politic Elizabeth, of England, carried into execution, and relieved herself and her subjects from such disagreeable incumbrances, at the expence of posterity.

Public demesnes also, are particularly exposed to the rapacity of favourites, and other dependents on the crown. By grants of land the importunate solicitations of a favourite courtier are easily gratified, and royal pageants quickly enriched by the spoils of the public. Nor is it to be wondered at, that this should happen under a regal government, when in Rome itself, notwithstanding the strictest laws, the most rigorous statutes, and the most exalted patriotism, the public territory was not a little diminished by illegal defalcations.

And in monarchical governments the public demesnes must be necessarily lessened, by the appanages or principalities bestowed on the younger branches of the royal family. In former times also the kings of England, of France, and of other countries in Europe, dilapidated their demesnes by great donations to the church; and by diminishing their patrimony in this world, endeavoured to secure to themselves more valuable possessions in another. By these and other means, the territorial possessions of the public have been almost uniformly, either intirely dissipated, or greatly reduced either in extent or value.

And perhaps, on the whole, it is more for the interest of society in general, to have such parts of its territory, as are capable of culture, in the hands of individuals, than in those of the public. In their possession, it stands a better chance of being well cultivated and managed to greater advantage, and other means less hurtful to the community have been invented, by which a revenue can be raised. It is surely dangerous to the liberties of a free people, to have the sovereign possessed of a great revenue, independent of their assistance, and it is much better for both to keep up that pleasing and useful connexion which results from liberality or bounty on the one hand, and protection on the other.

We shall next proceed to make some inquiry into the different kinds of territory, of which public demesnes have consisted, as, 1, of forests or woodlands; 2, of pasturage, 3, of arable lands; and 4, of gardens and vineyards.

CHAP. II.

Of the different Kinds of Territory of which Public Demesnes have consisted.

SECT. I.

Of Forests or Woodlands.

Forests are wild uncultivated tracts of country, only valuable on account of the animals they give shelter to, and the woods with which they abound.

Public demesnes it is probable at first consisted of forests only. Whilst men lived by hunting, a well stocked forest would be the most valuable territory with which the sovereign of a petty tribe could be invested.

Nor in later ages of society was this source of revenue entirely despicable. It was one means by which the governments both of Rome and Athens were enabled

enabled to pay their public expences*. The cedars of Lebanon it is probable were still more beneficial to the monarchs of Tyre.

And even in France, the woods of Normandy, and other provinces, have not been reckoned unworthy of attention.

The extensive forests which were enjoyed by William the Norman and his successors in England proved an ample source of revenue. The pecuniary punishments to which such persons were liable as encroached on these sacred asylums of royal diversion, proved highly lucrative to the monarch, however oppressive to his subjects. To alter or moderate such rigorous statutes, was a principal inducement with the barons to rise up in arms against the tyranny of their sovereign. And indeed we find the immunities of *Carta de foresta* as warmly contended for, and extorted from the king with as much difficulty as those of *Magna Carta* itself†.

In a maritime state, such as Britain is, forests, by proper management, might be converted into very valuable public property. If they only contributed to save a share of the immense expence attending the naval department, it would be well worth the attention of those who preside over our affairs. Some forests still remain, but the advantages resulting from them are more imaginary than real, and we are not only obliged to apply to private possessors of our own nation, but even to foreign states for the materials of equipment. No region under heaven is better calculated than Britain is, for raising these materials, but for want of care, attention and encouragement in the government, or of public spirit among individuals, nature has favoured us in vain.

Various attempts have been made, to diminish the number and the extent of the royal forests in England. The Commissioners of his treasury represented to James I. that many of his forests lay so far out of the way, at such a distance from his palaces, or his usual progress, that he could never have any use or pleasure in them, not even his favourite diversion of the chase. His answer, reported as a witty one, by Lord Bacon‡, proves the vanity and weakness of that self-sufficient monarch. "Do you think, said he, that Solomon had use and pleasure of all his three hundred concubines." The sale of forests, in their present state so useless and insignificant, has often been recommended from the most respectable quarters; and it is to be hoped, that they will soon be rendered more beneficial to the public, or else disposed of, that they may stand some chance of being improved by the care and labour of industrious individuals.

SECT. II.

Of Pasturage Lands.

The wealth of monarchs, if either the scripture, or ancient poets and historians may be credited, originally consisted in their herds and flocks. Pharaoh appointed Joseph's brethren, not commissioners or farmers of his revenue, but rulers over his cattle. David and other kings of Israel, we are informed had innumerable herds of cattle. Mesha king of Moab, was a sheepmaster; and Herodotus affirms that the kings of Macedon employed even the younger branches of the royal family, in tending their flocks§.

* Appian. l. i. At Rome one fifth of the trees were appropriated for the public. In regard to Roman Forests, see Vertot's Revol. vol. ii. p. 284. As to Athenian Forests, see Roll. An. Hist. vol. iv. p. 435.

† Nathaniel Bacon's Disc. part 1st. c. 31. Black. Com. vol. ii. p. 416. Littleton's History, vol. i. p. 55. and 380.

‡ Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 262. Apophth. 9.

§ Gen. xlvi. 6. 1 Chron. xxvii. 29. 2 Chron. xvii. 11. xxvi. 10. 2 Kings, iii. 4. Herod. lviii. 8. c. 137, 138. Raleigh's History of the World, p. 180.

Among the Arabians, a similar system took place, and a very singular method is mentioned in history, by which the extent of the royal pastures was ascertained. When these tribes of wanderers came to a fruitful valley, they caused a dog to bark, and the whole extent of ground, over which he could be heard, was appropriated for the sovereign*.

At Rome, every thing rated in the censor's books was called *Pascua*, because pasturage lands at first was the great source from whence any revenue was drawn†. That part of the public demesnes, dedicated to pasturage by the Romans, was managed in a very simple and beneficial manner. It appears from the Theodosian Code that each animal admitted into these pastures, paid a certain sum, in general four siliquæ or 5½d. sterling per head, called *scriptura* or the writing, because a list in writing was taken by the collectors, according to which every proprietor was charged. The Thorian law abolished this tax‡: but it was afterwards revived, and for many years it continued a productive branch of the Roman revenue§.

In the kingdom of Naples, there is a small country called the Capitanate, where cattle are sent to graze for a hundred leagues round, and the duty paid for it to the king, amounts to 200,000 ducats, or 100,000l. sterling. This valuable territory occasioned a war between the kings of France and Spain, and it must be acknowledged that many national quarrels have arisen from less important considerations||.

SECT. III.

Of Arable Lands.

It requires such care and attention to reap any benefit from manuring and cultivating the ground, particularly when it is of any extent, that we seldom find the arable land of public demesnes, in the hands of the sovereign. David king of Israel indeed had an officer who presided over those who tilled his domains**, and there is reason to believe that the slaves possessed by ancient nations were many of them employed in the labours of agriculture, for the benefit of the public††. But in general it was found most advantageous to let the ground sit for tillage, either for a certain share of the produce, or a certain rent payable in money.

The Romans were satisfied with one tenth part of the produce of arable land belonging to the public‡‡. But we have the most undoubted authority for asserting that in Egypt one-fifth part of the increase was appropriated for the sovereign§§. Egypt was naturally so fruitful, and required so much less labour and attention from the husbandman than other countries, that a greater revenue to the public might be demanded.

In some cantons of Switzerland, arable lands form a considerable source of the public revenue. And the grain they produce is laid up in magazines erected for that purpose in the several bailliages and sold afterwards for the use of the state|||. As the grain however is never sold in cheap seasons, it renders the revenue of these cantons uncertain, and sometimes for many years together, little money is brought into the treasury.

* Procop. de Bell. Pers. c. 19. 20. An. Un. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 440. † Pliny, l. xviii. c. 3.

‡ The following fragment of the Thorian law, is still preserved. "Neive populo, neive publicano pecuniam scripturam, vestigalve, det, dareve debes." But this law says Auf. Popm. either fell into disuse, or was afterwards restricted. See Cic. d. Attic. lib. ii. ep. 154 cum Commen. Paul. Manut. § Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 234.

|| Bayle's Dict. vol. i. Art. Ambuse (George Dr.) marg. note u.

* 1 Chron. xxvii. 26. 2 Chron. xvi. 10.

†† An. Un. Hist. vol. xii. p. 302. Bundy's Rom. Hist. vol. iii. p. 317.

‡‡ Appian. lib. i. §§ Gen. xlvii. 24. 26. ||| Account of Switzerland, p. 178.

SECT. IV.

Of Gardens and Vineyards.

Gardens and vineyards have proved beneficial to some states and empires. The kings of Israel were not inattentive to this source of revenue, and had officers appointed to watch over the vineyards, and the increase they produced*. At Rome they were reckoned highly valuable and important, and the demagogue Rullus, who proposed a total division of the public domains, ventured not to include the vineyards among the number. For this Cicero loudly reproaches him with luxury and drunkenness†.

Diodorus Siculus informs us of the singular means by which a lucrative vineyard was formed in Sicily‡. When Gelon defeated the Carthaginians in that island, a number of the captives taken fell to the share of the Agrigentines, who employed them in public works and particularly in sinking a fish pond of great extent and considerable depth. At first the pond answered the original purpose for which it was intended, but happening to be neglected, it filled up, and became dry ground. The soil however was so rich, that when it was planted with vines and other trees, it yielded a very considerable revenue.

The emperor Aurelian also increased the public revenue by planting vines. He employed several captives taken in war, to cultivate some woody districts of Italy, and obliged them to deliver a certain quantity of wine, which he sold to the people. He at first proposed to distribute it gratis, but was informed that it would only give rise to other demands. "If you give them wine for nothing," said his Prætorian Prefect, they will next expect geese and chickens, nor will it answer well to disappoint them §."

The only Sovereign I read of in history who sold flowers; and made his very gardens of pleasure, subservient to his appetite for wealth, is Amurat the third||. For I cannot imagine that the famous garden of Sidon, which Diodorus mentions, was appropriated for such purposes**.

Such are the different kinds of territory, which public demesnes have consisted of, and the various methods by which a revenue from them has been drawn.

CHAP. III.

Of Public Revenue from Buildings.

The fragility of houses, and the frequent repairs which they demand, render them an improper source of public revenue. We find the Roman state, however, in possession of houses in Capua, which were confiscated from Hannibal's adherents when that city was retaken††; and private habitations, by forfeiture and otherwise, must often fall into the hands of the public.

How far buildings might be contrived, attended with lucrative advantages to the state, is a question which still remains difficult to determine. Theatres, and other places of amusement, certainly might be built at the public expence, and the profit at present acquired by individuals, might be enjoyed by the sovereign: but the benefit would scarcely be compensated by the trouble or the risk.

* 1 Chron. xxvii. 27. 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.

† Orat. contra Rullum p. 425. 429.

‡ L. v. c. 2.

§ August. Hist. vol. i. p. 577. The wine was sold to the people in the porticos of the Temple of the Sun, under the name of "*Vina fœcilia*."

|| Bayle's Dict. vol. i. p. 617. note o. Amurat. ** L. xvi. c. 8.

†† Liv. l. xxvi. c. 16.

Public baths were at Rome a source of revenue, each person paying 2 quadrans, or one fourth of an as, for the privilege of using them; but Antoninus Pius gave the use of baths to the people gratis*.

CHAP. IV.

Of Public Revenue from Fisheries.

SECT. I.

Of Fisheries in Salt Water.

Ancient historians have given us an account of some nations, whose whole subsistence depended upon the fish they caught. The public revenue itself was raised from fishing, and many ingenious contrivances were invented to provide food for the people, and an income for the state†.

It is also probable that some part of the revenues of Hiero, king of Syracuse, arose from fishing. The coasts of Sicily abound with that valuable article, and in the magnificent present sent by him to Ptolemy Philadelphus, ten thousand great earthen jars of salted fish were included‡.

By levying fines upon those who fish in the ocean itself, a revenue has been sometimes drawn. They were formerly paid by the inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall, until abolished by queen Elizabeth§. The famous fine of 30,000*l.* paid to Charles I. by the Dutch, for a licence to fish upon the coasts of Scotland, is well known||. By a similar expedient the banks of Newfoundland might be rendered a more lucrative possession to the crown of Great Britain**.

The kings of England and of Denmark claim the exclusive property of such whales and sturgeons, as are either caught upon the coasts, or are driven ashore by tempests††. Hence they are called royal fish, and are claimed by the sovereign, under the pretence of his guarding the seas from pirates and robbers. In England, the sturgeon belongs entirely to the king, but whales are divided between the monarch and his consort, the head being appropriated for the first, and the tail for the latter. That the queen's wardrobe might always be furnished with sufficient quantities of whalebone, is the reason assigned in ancient records for this whimsical division‡‡.

SECT. II.

Of Fisheries in Fresh Water.

Fisheries were a great means by which the ancient inhabitants of Egypt were supported§§. Among the other plagues with which they were afflicted, the destruction of their fish was not the least|||; and, as one of the greatest calamities that could befall them, it was prophesied that their fishings should fail. "The fishers also shall mourn, and all they that cast angle into the

* See Horace, lib. i. satire 3. Juvenal, satire 6. Alexander ab Alexandro, vol. i. p. 1155. Note 2. and Ditto, p. 262. † Diod. Sic. l. iii. c. 2.

‡ Athen. l. 5. An. Un. Hist. vol. viii. p. 105.

§ Sir W. Raleigh's Life by Dyf. p. 128. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, quarto, 1602, p. 36. b. xxxvii. & p. 79, b. lxxx. || Rap. Hist. vol. ii. p. 294.

** In the beginning of the twelfth century, the property of the three great lakes in Sweden, and the right of fishing in the Baltic Sea, were annexed to the revenue of the crown. Williams's North Govern. vol. i. p. 441.

†† Black. Com. book i. c. 8. no. 10.

‡‡ Ib. book i. c. 4.

§§ Numb. xi. 5.

||| Exod. vii. 21.

brooks shall lament, and they that spread nets upon the waters shall languish *."

But the principal source which increased the public revenue by fishing, was the profits of lake Mœris. No less than two-and-twenty different species of fish inhabited that immense body of water, and they were found in such abundance, that, though a great number of people were employed in salting them, yet there wanted hands for the work †. Herodotus informs us, during the six months when the water of the lake flows into the Nile, that the fishery produced to the royal treasury a talent of silver, or 258*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling per day, and twenty minæ, or the fourth part of a talent, when they return from the river to the lake †. This amounted in whole to about 60,000*l.* sterling, and was appropriated by the gallant Mœris for pin-money to his queen.

The fishings on the lake Selinuzius in Ionia, afforded a great revenue, which the Romans, notwithstanding their affected regard for religion, at one period ravished from the priests of Diana, with a view of profiting by themselves §. They were afterwards restored to the great goddess of the Ephesians, and Artemidorus, by whose means they were recovered, was honoured with a statue of gold.

Fisheries also compose a part of the revenues of the small republic of Geneva ||; and lake Manzalah in Egypt yields the Turkish emperor an annual income of forty thousand crowns **. Had the kings of Scotland retained a right to all the salmon that are bred in the rivers of that country, which by law they were fully intitled to, it would have proved a very valuable addition to their dignity and their wealth ††.

It has been already observed that the famous fish-pond of Agrigentum was the source of a public revenue; and if criminals were employed in erecting works of a similar nature, both the lives of many might be spared, and the income of the sovereign might be increased. It is certain that fresh waters are better suited than salt for producing a public revenue, as in general they are capable of being fished with less danger, with more certainty, and at less expence.

SECT. III.

Of Fisheries of Pearls.

Pearls have always been reckoned a very valuable and curious ornament. In Britain they were anciently of peculiar beauty, and the hope of obtaining them in considerable quantities, was the original inducement which the Romans had to attempt the conquest of the island ††.

Among some nations, also, pearls have proved the source of a revenue to the public. On the coast of Norway a pearl fishing is carried on at the expence of the sovereign, the profits of which he enjoys; and the river Zel in Germany produces that valuable article in considerable abundance, one half of which belongs to the emperor, and the other to the elector of Bavaria §§.

The pearl fishery at Ceylon is one of the most celebrated examples of this source of revenue, being not only rendered occasionally productive, but by

* Isai. xix. 8.

† Diod. Sic. l. i. c. 4.

† Herod. Euterp. l. ii. c. 149. See Sauun. vol. i. p. 547. Rollin's An. Hist. vol. i. p. 24. The fishings on this lake were also considered to be an important branch of the revenue of the Persian empire. Alex. ab Alexandro, vol. i. p. 985.

§ Strab. l. 14. An. Un. Hist. vol. vii. p. 418.

|| Misson's Trav. vol. iv. p. 415.

** An. Un. Hist. vol. i. p. 422.

†† Bank. Instit. book ii. tit. 3. sect. 8.

‡‡ Suet. in Jul. Cæs. c. 47.

§§ Mod. Trav. vol. iii. p. 256. The pearls taken in midsummer belong to the queen, and are part of her regalia. Miss. Trav. vol. i. p. 157.

fishing alternately different banks, yielding a regular annual income. The amount is not stated, even in the latest account we have of this fishery; but we are told, that particular banks fixed upon to be fished for the year, are sometimes put up for sale to the highest bidder, and sometimes that government judges it more advantageous to fish these banks on its account, and to dispose of the pearls thus obtained afterwards to the merchants*.

CHAP. V.

Of a Public Revenue from Mines.

SECT. I.

Of Mines in General.

Mines, particularly of the finer metals, are one of the most natural and obvious sources of public revenue.

For, in the first place, such valuable possessions are only fit for being placed in the hands of the sovereign, and might prove dangerous to the public tranquillity if enjoyed by an ambitious citizen, or an aspiring subject.

Secondly, they are frequently so difficult to discover and to work, until experience teaches where they are most likely to be found, and how they can best be wrought, that in early ages of society the public alone can run the risk of searching for them, or can defray the various expences with which such an attempt is accompanied.

Thirdly, as in regal governments the monarch is invested with the exclusive privilege of coining money, a right to the mines of his kingdom, by which alone he can be at first supplied with the necessary materials, seems to be the natural appendage of such a prerogative†.

Before metals became common and abundant, the possession of a valuable mine was attended with very important consequences. The wealth and grandeur of Priam and of Cæsus, so much celebrated by ancient poets and historians, originated from that source alone‡. To the silver mines of Laurium, the produce of which, by the advice of Themistocles was expended in equipping the formidable and victorious fleets of Athens, the safety of Greece from the yoke of Barbarians, and consequently all its glory and renown may be imputed§. Philip of Macedon built his greatness upon a similar foundation. And by their mines, more than by their commerce, were the Carthaginians enabled to dispute with Rome itself the empire of the world||.

In ancient times, when slavery was permitted, and distant Transatlantic settlements unknown, there is reason to believe that mines might be lucratively wrought for the benefit of the sovereign. But among modern European nations, it has been found most advantageous, to entrust them to the industry of individuals, reserving a certain share of the produce. What that share ought to be, must both depend upon the nature of the mine, and the value of the metal which it produces. Mine-hunting is attended with so much uncertainty, and so great a risk, that more have suffered than gained by it, and consequently it is necessary to give every reasonable encouragement to such as undertake it.

* See an Account of the Island of Ceylon, by Robert Percival, Esq. 1 vol. 4to. printed at London an. 1803. † Black. Com. book i. c. 8.

‡ An. Un. Hist. vol. iv. p. 490. and vol. viii. p. 270.

§ Plut. in Themist. An. Un. Hist. vol. vi. p. 407. and vol. viii. p. 455.

|| Diocl. Sic. l. v. c. 2.

Such a share of the produce therefore is only retained, as may prevent the acquisition of immense opulence, as may excite on the one hand activity and exertion, and on the other hand may hinder any one from proving dangerous to the sovereign, or enable him to excite disturbances in the state.

SECT. II.

Of Mines of Metals.

Mines of gold, were in ancient times reckoned too valuable for private individuals. They were commonly seized by the sovereign and wrought at his expence, and for his profit. This was the case in Egypt, in Greece, and in Italy*. But Spain and Portugal have found it much more beneficial to give the property even of their gold and silver mines in America to private persons, reserving one fifth of the produce. Their distance from their American possessions, was probably their great inducement for enacting such a regulation †.

Mines both of gold and silver, are called royal ones in England ‡, and still form a nominal branch of the royal revenue. They were also included among the regalia of the Scottish crown, but never proved of any value to the public treasury§. By a singular regulation it was intended that they should prove more beneficial in England, where with a view of furnishing the king with the materials of coinage, without at the same time discouraging private persons from searching after less valuable materials, it was enacted, that where either gold or silver were discovered in the mines of other metals, that the same should not be reckoned a royal mine, but should belong to the owner, the crown being at liberty to purchase the ore, at certain prices ascertained by the statutes ||.

The kings of Macedonia not satisfied with appropriating to themselves the mines of gold and silver discovered in their dominions, wrought even those of copper, and drew from thence a talent per day**. Under Alexander's successors, and the dominion of the Romans, private individuals were permitted to work them, on their paying one half of the produce ††. But the kings of Sweden are satisfied with one fourth, and a duty of 25 per cent. upon the remainder, if exported unwrought. They are also entitled to a preference in purchasing the ore of the silver mines of Salberg, and may deduce one fourth of the price, as a revenue to themselves ‡‡.

The mines of antiquity bear no proportion in point of produce to the treasures of America¶. Those of Carthage yielded only 25,000 drachmas, per day, which according to Arbuthnot's computation makes only 294,661*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* sterling, per annum §§. Hannibal got from the Spanish mines annually 353,563*l.* 15*s.* sterling ||||, and those of Dalmatia produced per day, 50 pounds of gold¶¶, which amounts per annum, to 589,322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* Whereas it was computed, in the 1730, that the mines of Mexico produced 10,000,000*l.* sterling, in money, and at first they were much more valuable.

* Diod. Sic. l. i. c. 4. Plut. Lives, vol. iii. p. 291. Henry's Hist. v. i. p. 235.

† Acc. of Europ. Sett. vol. i. p. 222. 313.

‡ Black. Com. b. i. c. 8.

§ Bank. Inf. b. 2. tit. 9.

|| 1 W. and M. st. i. c. 30.

5 W. and M. c. 6.

** Alex. ab Alex. vol. i. p. 985.

†† An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 149.

‡‡ Atlas Geo. vol. i. p. 295.

¶ Diod. l. i. c. 4. See An. Un. Hist. vol. li. p. 44.

I consider Diodorus's account

of the ancient mines of Egypt, producing annually 3,200,000,000 minas, or 96,000,000*l.* sterling, either to be a mistake of the transcribers, or intirely fabulous.

§§ Arbuth. on Coins, p. 195.

|||| Strabo. l. iii. 247. Rollin, Rom. Hist. vol. iv. p. 423.

¶¶ Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. 6.

But as the judicious Montesquieu observes*, the most productive mines of ore, are not always the most truly valuable. Those of Germany and Hungary, which produce little more than the expence of working them, are useful. They employ many thousand men, consume many superfluous commodities, are properly a manufacture in the country, and tend much to encourage the culture of land, in the neighbourhood where they are found. Whereas the mines of Peru, of Mexico, and of Brazil, by the immense quantities of the precious metals which they yield, discourage industry in a nation, accumulate wealth in the hands of a few, and as the species multiplies, become daily less profitable and advantageous.

SECT. III.

Of Mines of Minerals.

Rock salt is a mineral which has sometimes produced the source of a revenue to the public. It was probably the case in Libya†, and in Germany and other parts of Europe the salt mines are found highly profitable to the sovereign‡.

Of all the minerals, not of a metallic nature, coal, perhaps, is on the whole the most valuable hitherto discovered, and as in these kingdoms its quality is peculiarly excellent, had all mines of that article been annexed to the crown, a considerable revenue might have been obtained.

Black lead is another fossil or mineral body, which England produces of peculiar excellence, without any immediate benefit to the public.

SECT. IV.

Of Mines of Precious Stones.

Where diamonds and other precious stones are discovered in any considerable quantities this is no despicable source of revenue. But as precious stones are only valuable on account of their scarcity, it has been found necessary to prevent the profit and value of such mines from being diminished, by too great abundance. Hence in Golconda, the labourers are obliged to pay a pagoda of gold, which weighs two drams four grains and a half, for every hour they work in the mines, whether they find any diamonds or not§. And in 1740, the diamond mines of Brazil, were farmed for payment of 26,000*l.* sterling per annum, with a prohibition of employing more than six hundred slaves at a time||. Notwithstanding these prohibitions, the quantity of diamonds is daily increasing, and their value is proportionally diminished.

CHAP. VI.

Of Revenue from Peculiar Productions.

When a country produces any article of great value, or which, in consequence of its being peculiar to any one spot is likely to become an advantage-

* L'Esprit des Loix, l. xxi. c. 18.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 247.

‡ Addison's Travels, p. 304. ult. The famous salt mines in Poland, now annexed to the imperial crown, are of great value. Williams's Northern Governments, vol. ii. p. 288. 545. 622. and 699. In Russia, the salt office has the direction of the revenues arising from the salt works. Smollet's Appendix to Voltaire's Hist. of Russia, chap. 2.

§ Atlas Geog. vol. iii. p. 576.

|| Account of the Europ. Sett. vol. i. p. 314.

ous branch of commerce, it has in some instances been appropriated for the use of the sovereign.

Thus the Bitumen of the lake Asphaltes, the Balm of Gilead and the Palm trees of Jericho, were in ancient times considered to be advantageous sources of public revenue, which Antigonus of Macedon, and Herod of Judea, did not think unworthy of their attention*.

In ancient times also, the Romans, after they had made themselves masters of Lipari, made a profitable use of the alum that was found in that island, of which it almost enjoyed the monopoly, the island of Melos only having some small share of that singular production†.

There is found in the isle of Lemnos, a particular kind of earth called, *Terra Sigillata*, which is famous for bruises, and the Grand Signior farms the advantage resulting from the sale of this article to the under Bashaw‡.

Near the city Ædepeum in Eubœa, in the reign of Antigonus, a spring of cold water issued suddenly out of the earth, which performed most stupendous cures, and drew crowds from the remotest provinces, to be cured of their disorders. But the governors appointed by Antigonus having laid a tax upon such as used this spring, it soon after disappeared §.

The Priests of Japan draw a revenue from mineral springs ||.

CHAP. VII.

Revenue from the Interest of Public Treasures.

It was the custom of ancient nations to lay up considerable sums of money, for any great exigency of the state. But such treasures in general, lay useless, and unproductive, and by diminishing the circulation of wealth, discouraged industry.

In modern times however, when money is saved by a state, it is sometimes vested in the public funds of the various nations in Europe, who have established public debts.

This in particular, was done by the canton of Berne, before the late revolution, by which its income was materially increased**. Some states and sovereigns also have lent money at low interest to their own subjects, with a view of encouraging commerce, and adding to their revenue.

Another mode of deriving pecuniary advantages from public revenue or wealth, is to charge those with interest, who are not regular in paying their taxes.

From Cicero's epistles it appears that Servilius Isauricus who was Cicero's predecessor in Cilicia, obliged the provincials to pay interest upon any part of their taxes, they neglected to pay at the appointed time, at a most intolerable usury, and Cicero boasts of his lenity in appointing a certain day, against which, if they paid their taxes, they were only charged a centesima (or 1 per cent. per month) consequently at the rate of 12 per cent. yearly, and he calls that a *tolerabile onus*††.

* Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. 6. p. 651. and 652. An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 41. vol. x. p. 413. vol. xviii. p. 444. vol. xx. p. 208.

† Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 1. p. 180. Folio MSS. p. 23.

‡ See a long account of it, Bayle's Dict. vol. vi. p. 683. article Lemnos, Note D.

§ An. Un. Hist. vol. viii. p. 374.

|| Republic of Letters, vol. xviii. p. 316.

** Such principles, however, were reckoned inconsistent with the dignity of the Ottoman government; for when Grothufen, favourite of Charles XII. made a proposal, to borrow a million from the Porte, the visier answered coldly, that his master knew how to give, when he thought proper, but that it was beneath his dignity to lend. Vult, Charles XII. book 7.

The same principles did not actuate the Roman Emperors, for Caligula gave out money at great usury, and made profit of it. Suet. in Calig. cap. 42. 47. and Claudius, when a private person having purchased the office of high priest for 400,000 sesterces, which sum he borrowed from the treasury, and being unable to pay it, his estate was set up to sale. It would appear indeed to have been the practice of the Romans at this time to lend out the public money at interest. Suet. in Claud. cap. 9. Nay as early as An. Urb. 401. there were bankers at Rome, called *Mensarii*, who negotiated public money, and turned it to advantage. See Bundy's Roman History, vol. ii. p. 112.

†† See Epist. ad Attic. lib. vi. epist. 1. with the commentary of P. Manutius thereon.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the general Nature of the Revenue derived from certain lucrative Rights, or Prerogatives vested in the Public.

IN every government, whatever its nature may be, it has been found both expedient and necessary to invest the public with certain rights and privileges, which have often been attended with lucrative advantages. In general they are founded upon prerogatives, which it would be improper, or impolitic, to suffer any private citizen or subject to be possessed of, and therefore with great propriety they are vested in the public.

These prerogatives may be divided into two separate branches, one of which may be called natural, and the other legal. The first may be said to result from the very nature of government, the other only springs from particular laws and constitutions. It seems unnecessary however, to enter minutely into that distinction. It may be sufficient to remark that the right of the public to all tributes paid to the state by other communities is of the first kind; and the profit that may arise from the prerogative of disposing certain honours or offices is of the second.

This source of revenue in a free country is extremely obnoxious, and it contributed much to the downfall of Richard II., when, being in want of money, he devised the means of raising supplies out of the unbounded power of the supposed prerogative*.

CHAP. II.

Prerogative of Sovereignty, or Paramountship.

The highest prerogative which any sovereign can enjoy is, that of compelling every individual to consider the landed property he is possessed of as belonging properly to the monarch.

It is well known that this principle was established among the nations by whom the Roman empire was overturned; but among the Natches, according to Raynal, the idea was carried still farther, for all labour was undertaken in common entirely for the benefit of the chief magistrate, who distributed the produce resulting therefrom as he judged proper†.

The legal revenues of the Abyssinian empire are not very considerable, but the emperor is great in consequence of being absolute lord of all the lands within his dominions, so that he can take away and give them all as he thinks fit, for neither great nor small possess any thing but by the emperor's gift, and all they have is a bounty during pleasure; and it is so usual for the emperor to chop, change, and take away every year or two the lands any man has, and to bestow them on another, that it is never thought much of, and very often one ploughs, another sows, and a third reaps the harvest; hence it is that no man improves what he has, or so much as plants a tree, knowing well that it is a mighty rarity for him that plants to gather the fruit. It is the emperor's advantage that they should all so entirely depend on him, for thus they all serve

* See Noy's Rights of the Crown, p. 70.

† Raynal, vol. iv. p. 90. b. 16.

him in peace and war; some for fear of losing the lands he has given them, and others in hopes of getting those they have not; and for this reason they make him their presents according to their ability, for generally he gets most who gives most, and he has least who presents least *.

Father Catrou tells us that the Mogul has reserved to himself the full property of all the lands of the empire. Bernier says the same. But, to give away lands, and to enjoy them, are two very different things. The kings of Europe, who give away all the church livings, do not own them. The emperor, who has a right to confer all the fiefs of Germany and Italy when they become vacant in default of heirs, does not receive the revenue of those lands. Bernier did not imagine that his words would be misconstrued so far as to think that all the Indians manure, build, and toil for a Tartar †.

The Russian monarchs also seem to have considered all landed, and even personal property, as vested in themselves. Those who cultivated the earth were slaves; and when any warrior greatly distinguished himself, he was rewarded by the emperor with a fief containing a certain number of peasants. When the possessors of these fiefs died without heirs male, the land is returned to the sovereign, excepting that as a particular favour he continued the daughters of the late proprietors in the possession, under the condition of supporting a certain number of soldiers ‡.

About 1075, says Voltaire in his *Annals of the Empire*, the emperor seems to have been accounted the Temporal, and the Pope the Spiritual chieftain, or Lord Paramount of Europe.

The result of this right of paramountship, with which the sovereign was invested, was the establishment of those feudal prerogatives which prevailed over the greater part of modern Europe, a short account of which has been already given in a former part of this work §. One feudal privilege was omitted, namely, that of ransoming prisoners, not only those taken in war, but even strangers travelling throughout the country ||. It may also be proper to observe, that a system similar to the feudal, according to the authentic accounts of a modern philosophic traveller, M. de Paivre, was established in the Society Islands by the Malays **, and that a tax resembling the feudal wardship took place in Sicily, Agathocles having taken the estates of infants out of the hands of their guardians, declaring that he would make a much better use of them, and would be much more able to give restitution ††.

CHAP. III.

Of a Public Revenue from unappropriated Subjects.

Unappropriated goods, to which no particular person can claim any right or property, in almost every civilized state are given to the public. They are of six different parts, as

1. Articles which may be justly accounted *Bona Vacantia*; or
2. Treasures hid in the earth; or
3. What is called by the law of England waifs, or goods stolen, and thrown away by the thief in his flight; or

* Extracted from a new Collection of Voyages and Travels, printed for J. Knapton, anno 1711. The author saw the above account compared with Father Emanuel D'Almeyda's MSS. in Mr. Perry's collection.

† Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. part v. c. iii. p. 14.

‡ William's Northern Governments, vol. ii. p. 30.

§ See vol. i. p. 27.

|| See Voltaire's *Annals of the Empire*, anno 1069 and 1193.

** See Forster's *Observations*, p. 355 and 356.

†† Diodorus Siculus, l. xx. c. i. p. 658.

4. Estrays, that is, valuable domesticated animals found wandering; or
5. Goods wrecked upon the coasts; or
6. Goods, the inheritance of which cannot be legally claimed.

SECT. I.

Bona Vacantia:

Bona vacantia, or goods to which no particular person has any claim of property, according to the laws of modern Europe, belong to the public*. The same regulation did not take place in ancient Rome, where the rule was, "*Ea quæ nullius sunt, cedant occupanti*," (L. ff. de ac. R. D.); but now, says Heineccius, "*Res in littore maris inventas, multis locis fiscus sibi vindicat*†." Indeed, by giving this right to the public, that strife and contention which the mere trifle of occupancy is apt to create, is prevented, and the support of public authority is provided for in the manner the least burthenfome to individuals‡.

The laws of Scotland respecting unappropriated subjects, are entitled to some praise. Such moveable articles as have continued in their original state, and are presumed never to have had any owner, belong to the first occupant, whether they are animate or inanimate. Thus the property of pearls enclosed in shells, of pebbles cast upon the shore, of wild beasts, fowls, or fishes, may be acquired. But all moveable or personal goods, which are presumed to have once had an author, though now unknown, and all lands, or rights annexed to lands, go to the crown; in consequence of the general rule, "*Quod nullius est, fit domini regis* §."

SECT. II.

Treasure Trove:

On the same principle that all goods which can be claimed by no legal proprietor, belong to the society at large, it is in general enacted that all treasures, or ancient concealments of treasure which can be claimed by no proprietor, is vested in the public, or the first magistrate of the state. In former times, when money was a scarce commodity, and when, in consequence of the uncertain situation of public affairs, such concealments were not unusual, this was no inconsiderable branch of public revenue; but there are very few governments indeed at present, in which this right would be considered of any importance to the public ||.

SECT. III.

Waifs:

By the laws of England, when any goods are stolen, and thrown away by the thief in his flight, in dread of being apprehended, they belong to the king, as representing the public. This branch of the prerogative is intended as a

* Black. Com. vol. i. p. 298, 299.

† Inst. p. 353.

‡ Blackstone, vol. i. p. 299.

§ Folio, Eskin, b. ii. tit. i. p. 10., p. 155 do. par. 11 and 12.

|| In the reign of Nerva, one of his subjects discovered a large treasure, and wrote to the emperor, begging to know how to dispose of it. He received for answer, that he might use it. But the finder informing the emperor, that it was too large for a private person, Nerva, admiring his honesty, wrote him word that he might abuse it. Goldsm. Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 321. Ap. Un. Hist. vol. xv. p. 108.

punishment upon the owner for not pursuing the felon and taking his property from him*. But if afterwards he gives his assistance in convicting the thief, he is entitled to his effects again. There are other regulations respecting this singular branch of the public revenue of England which it is unnecessary to dwell upon.

SECT. IV.

Esstrays.

When domesticated animals of any value, are found wandering, without being claimed by any owner, they are also appropriated for the public use†. Nor can the real proprietor claim them afterwards, if they have been out of his custody for a year and a day, nor even before that time, without paying the charges of their recovery. Every one must perceive, however, that in every civilized state, this cannot be a very lucrative branch of public revenue.

SECT. V.

Wrecks.

In barbarous ages of society, such goods as were found at sea, or thrown on shore, were adjudged to belong to the public, as if the original owner was thus divested of all property in them. But as Blackstone well observes, this was adding sorrow to sorrow, and was consonant neither to reason nor humanity; and this source of revenue in consequence of the humane laws which have been enacted since Europe became more civilized, is so much reduced in its value and importance, that it has at last become a matter of curiosity rather than of profit‡.

SECT. VI.

Goods not inherited.

When any individual dies without leaving any heirs of his own body or any known relation, and also without exercising the right which in general is permitted in civilized States, of leaving his property by a will, his whole effects have been almost uniformly appropriated for the use of the sovereign, or the public. At one period, (an. 1182,) in the German Empire, the moveables of those who died were considered as belonging to nobody, and were plundered by any who could get at them, particularly in towns. Frederick the Great, as Voltaire observes in his *Annals of the Empire*, abolished this horrible right, which produced endless and bloody quarrels, though the moveables at that time were of small importance.

* Black. vol. i. p. 296. † Black. p. 298.

‡ As to wrecks as a source of revenue, see Bacon's *Sealden*, part i. p. 176. In Denmark, it was enacted, that those who carried off the effects of the merchants which had been shipwrecked should be punished as common robbers. See Williams's *North. Governments*, vol. i. p. 208. 258, 259, 260. From the same work it appears that the Bishops of Bergheim in Jutland often employed 300 men upon the sea coasts, when there was any appearance of a tempest, and that a considerable revenue redounded to the king's coffers, particularly from Jutland, as from the unskillfulness of the seamen in those ages such accidents happened almost every day. See farther as to wrecks, do. 344 and 345, where the modern regulations are stated which have prevented plundering, though similar regulations cost Christian II. his liberty and crown.

Under this head may be considered the right claimed by the Grand Signor, to the personal estates of the officers of the Porte; on which subject Voltaire remarks that, the public administration, in all parts of the globe, hath too frequently been little better than plundering by authority, except in a few republican states, where the rights of liberty and property have been more secured, and where the revenue, being small, is better administered, because the eye embraceth small objects while large ones confound the sight*.

In the Roman Empire it was enacted by an old law, that the Emperor should have a right to one half of the estates of such freedmen as had belonged either to the Emperor or any of his relations, if they died without children, but testate, and to the whole, if they died intestate†.

In every country, says Voltaire, in his Age of Lewis the 14th, (the recapitulation) the son is his father's heir; for though in Turkey, the son of a Timariot does not inherit his father's dignity; nor in India the son of an Omra, his lands, the reason is, because neither the one or the other belong to the father himself. A place for life, is, in no country of the world considered as an inheritance; but in Persia, in India, and throughout all Asia, every native and even every stranger of whatsoever religion, except in Japan, may purchase lands that are not a part of the crown demesnes, and leave them to his family.

In our Europe indeed, there are still some nations, where the law will not suffer a stranger to purchase a field, or a burying place, in their territories. The barbarous right of *Aubaine*, by which a stranger beholds his father's estate go to the king's treasury, still subsists in all the Christian states, unless where it is otherwise provided by private convention.

As this source of revenue is of an ancient date, it is difficult to discover whence the common ideas have originated of the hospitality of antiquity. In remote periods of history we find taxes laid upon strangers, and the same word (*hostis*) signified both a stranger and an enemy. It still remains a disgraceful circumstance to one of the most civilized states in Europe, that the effects of foreigners who happen to die in that country, cannot be claimed by their relations, but are appropriated for the purposes of the state.

It may at the same time be remarked, that this affords the government alluded to, that of France, an opportunity of displaying marks of affection to particular nations, at the expence of their general character for hospitality. It is in the power of a politic state, by trifling distinctions of that nature, to ingratiate itself with other nations. The famous story of Alexander the Great will be perpetually recurring to them, who despised the offer of being presented with the freedom of a city in Greece, until he was informed that Hercules was the only person on whom that honour had been conferred. On the same principles it may be supposed that America would consider the *droit d'aubaine* to be no inconsiderable privilege in France, when they were told, that the brave inhabitants of Scotland and of Switzerland, were, of old, the only nations, to whom this privilege was given.

This right however is in some respect countenanced by the example of Rome; for when a person obtained the privilege of Roman citizenship for himself only, his children remained Greeks, according to the expression of an ancient historian, and consequently were incapable of enjoying their father's estates‡, which fell to the exchequer if the deceased had no Roman citizen among his relations, who could alone succeed to him. This regulation so fa-

* Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. part 5. chap. 5. vol. iii. p. 28, 29, 30.

† Multis instat. de sac. libert. l. liberto, 17. Digest. de bon. libert. But Nero increased it to a dodrans or 3-4. or as some copies have it a doxtans or 5-6. Suet. in Ner. cap. xxiii. Also in Vesp. cap. xxiii.

‡ See on this subject, Bayle's Dict. vol. ii. p. 35. note F.

vourable to the avarice of Princes, but so repugnant to humanity, T. Antoninus abolished; and Caracalla declared all free subjects, citizens of the Roman Empire*.

CHAP. IV.

Of Public Revenue derived from the Public Prerogative of declaring Peace and War.

1. Plunder in War.

On nearly the same principles, from which the right of the public to unappropriated goods is deduced, may also be drawn its title to the plunder taken from an enemy, and other financial resources of a similar nature. In the eye of the law, on which alone all property is founded, the goods of an enemy is supposed to belong to none, it would naturally therefore fall to the share of the first occupant, were there not reason to dread the confusion that might ensue, were every article in an enemy's country to be exposed to the ravenous activity of every soldier in an army. It has therefore been wisely enacted, (unless particular permission is given by the commander of any armament) that even personal subjects shall belong to the public. With regard to land conquered from an enemy, it has uniformly been appropriated for the public.

The Jews, like other barbarous nations, delighted in plundering their enemies. Their first attempt of this sort, when they deceitfully borrowed from the Egyptians, whose effects they spoiled or took away, was not so creditable†.

We have afterwards an instance of the division of plunder among the Jews. The whole was first divided into two parts, one part of which was given to those who had fought the battle, and the other part to the rest of the people. One five hundredth part of the first only, was taken as a tribute to the lord, but one fiftieth of the second part, because it was acquired without any danger‡.

There is another instance of the division of the spoil among the Jews. In general the commander in chief had the first and best part of the spoil, and the kings of Israel are said particularly to have appropriated for their own use the public treasures of the conquered, and one half of the rest of the spoil, the remainder being divided among the people§.

At Rome, any tract of country, acquired by war, was divided into three parts. One part was sold to defray the expences of the war; another was in general incorporated with the public demesnes; and the third portion was divided among the individuals sent on the footing of a colony to preserve the tract that had been conquered, from hostile attacks.

The Romans, in the early part of their government, had only two means of subsisting, by agriculture, or by plunder. They lived either by cultivating their own lands, or by reaping the harvests which had been sown by their enemies||.

It may be considered as a general principle, that where the soldiers receive no pay, they should have all the plunder in its stead; but that where they do receive pay, the plunder should belong to the public. In opposition to this

* An. Un. Hist. vol. xv. p. 198 and 333.

† See Exod. c. xi. xii. c. xix. v. 35.

‡ Numb. c. xxi. v. 25.

§ See Saurin, vol. i. Diff. 67. Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. 3. 6. par. 27. 2. Marcaberi 2-28. Joshua 22-8.

|| Goldsm. Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 71.

general principle, the tribune Decius, when he attacked Cofiolanus, declared, "We have an ancient law among us, that all plunder taken from the enemy shall be appropriated to the use of the public, and shall be given in to the treasury untouched by the general." This law, it is said, was coeval with the state itself, and seems to have been derived from a principle of political prudence which requires that as large a share as possible of the public revenue should arise from the same source as the greatest national expence*.

Paulus Emilius brought into the Roman treasury 1,856,770*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, and freed the Romans from taxes for 125 years. Plutarch calls Emilius's plunder 2250 talents of silver, and 231 of gold, and says, that no taxes were paid by the Romans in consequence of that great sum till the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa. It is very evident, however, that the plunder brought in by Emilius would not alone defray the expences of the Roman state, and that the sum was perpetually increased by frequent accessions of a similar nature. Thus Scipio, who conquered Antiochus, brought in his millions, or 1,614,583*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Pompey brought into the treasury 20,000 talents, and fined Tigranes 6000 talents. Cæsar brought at once into the treasury, 65,000 talents, or 12,593,750*l.* No nation ever made so much by plunder as the Romans, but war is of itself attended with such various scenes of horror, that it seems unnecessary to add the calamities of rapine to the other misfortunes of the vanquished. By plundering, the innocent mostly suffer, and it can only be of use to those nations, who, like the Romans, always conquer, or who are so poor, that when they are vanquished they have nothing to lose.

The ancient Franks (says Voltaire, in his introduction to the Annals of the Empire) were of the number of those famished and ferocious people who ran to the pillage of the empire. They subsisted upon rapine and theft, although the country in which they settled was very fair and fertile. But they did not know how to cultivate the lands.

Anno 778, Charlemagne having gone into Spain, besieges and takes Pampe-lune. The spoils of the Saracens were divided between the king, his officers, and soldiers, according to the ancient custom of making war, only for the sake of booty, and of dividing it equally among all those who had an equal share of the danger.

The famous story of Clovis, king of France, who could not appropriate to himself even a single silver cup of the booty that was seized, or give it to the church of Rheims, fully proves that plunder acquired in war by the Franks, was divided according to some settled rule†.

2. *Tributes.*

A tribute may be defined to be a payment made by one state to another, in order to be free from its resentment, and the calamities of war. Tributes are of various sorts, as of money, of various articles paid in kind, and even of persons or slaves.

1. *Tributes in Money.*

Considerable sums in money have, in various instances, been exacted from conquered nations; in fact, it was often no trifling branch of public revenue to different states. Sometimes the money was exacted, by the agreement of the parties, in perpetuity. At other times, as may be instanced in the Roman history, particularly after the second Punic, and the first Macedonian war, it

* See Dionys. l. v. c. 63. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 57.

† Volt. Additions to General Hist. vol. i. c. 10 and 11.

was only exacted for a certain term of years; but in both cases, nothing but the greatest necessity could justify so disgraceful a sacrifice.

The Jews paid so great a tribute to Ahasuerus, that Haman was obliged to offer 10,000 talents of silver by way of indemnification. Prideaux calculates this at the ridiculous and enormous amount of 119,000,000*l.* sterling, but Arbuthnot more reasonably estimates it at only 3,875,000*l.* Josephus says that Haman offered four myriads of talents, which if they be Attick, would amount to 7,750,000*l.**

When Pompey subdued India, about 60 years before the birth of Christ, he imposed a tribute upon the Jews; and that country was taxed 700 talents, or 135,625*l.* by Cassius after Cæsar's death†.

The Macedonians, after the defeat of Perseus, only paid a tribute to the Romans, of 100 talents or 19,37*l.*‡.

At the end of the second Punic war, the Romans exacted an annual tribute from the Carthaginians, of 200 talents, or according to Arbuthnot, 38,750*l.* sterling, which was to be paid for 50 years. The public treasury afforded this for one year, but as it was to last so long, it was thought necessary to divide the burthen among the citizens. When the tax for this tribute was first collected, the Carthaginians loudly deplored their misfortunes, and many of the senators wept. They were thus indignantly reproved by Hannibal, who could not refrain from laughing at such effeminate lamentations. "My laughter, said this great general, is more reasonable and less absurd than your tears, for you should have wept when you gave up your ships, and your elephants, and when you bound your hands from the use of arms without liberty from the Romans. But of these matters, you had no feelings, though they held you in confirmed servitude; but now, when a little money is wrung out of your private purses, ye have some sense thereof; whereas it is truly one of the least of your misfortunes." Afterwards when Hannibal was prætor, he found that the public revenue was sufficient to pay this tribute without burdening the citizens, and by this means individuals were free from these ignominious taxes§.

Darius Hystaspes, having conquered a part of India, received a tribute from it of 360 talents of gold, or 1,095,000*l.*||.

Naples says Voltaire, anno 1560, was the only tributary kingdom in the universe. I imagine an erroneous assertion¶.

The Poles, to prevent the Tartars from troubling the Cossacks, made them a present of a great number of sheep's skins, and promised to pay them 20,000 ducats a year to keep them in peace and tranquillity, which gift the Tartars regarded as a tribute. And in the year 1672 Michael, king of Poland, obliged himself to pay an annual and perpetual tribute of 100,000 ducats to the Ottoman Porte**.

* See Esther, c. iii. v. 9. Prideaux's Hist. of the Jews, vol. ii. p. 180. Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 205. Josephus lib. ii.

† See Josephus lib. i. c. 7. & ditto, c. xiv. Arbuthnot observes p. 193, from Josephus l. vii. that Vespasian imposed a poll tax on the Jews of a didrachma, about 11. 3*d.* halfpenny. This was certainly the half shekel paid to the temple of Jerusalem. Their number being 7,000,000, it yielded 14,000,000 of didrachmas, or 452,083*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling. The tax mentioned, Matt. xvii. 21. is of a didrachma, in the original.

‡ See Plat. vol. ii. p. 294. in Emilio. Arbuthnot, p. 203.

§ See Raleigh's History of the World, p. 700 & 749. Bundy's Rom. History, vol. iii. page 568. This Carthaginian tribute in the 50 years would have amounted to 1,937,500*l.* sterling.

|| An. Un. Hist. vol. v. p. 211. vol. xx. p. 89. Rollin, An. Hist. vol. iii. p. 79, and 92.

¶ Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. part. 6. c. 7. p. 90.

** Williams's Northern Governments, vol. ii. p. 394, 502, 504, and 507.

The Russians were often subjected to tributes. By the fatal treaty of Pruth, Peter the Great was obliged to promise to pay to the Tartars, an annual subsidy of 40,000 sequins; an odious tribute, long since imposed, from whence the Czar had delivered his country.

Russia had also been obliged to pay an annual tribute of six thousand rubles to the khan of the Crim Tartars, from which it was freed by Peter*.

2. Tributes in different Articles.

When one nation conquered by the arms of another, was too poor to afford any revenue in money, it was often obliged to pay a variety of other articles: sometimes for the real benefit of the conquering nation, but very often rather as a mark of subjection.

The famous demand made by Xerxes, of earth and water from the different states of Greece, was not in itself attended with any difficulty to furnish, but was nobly refused when demanded as a mark of subjection, and as an acknowledgment that he was master of the land, and sovereign of the waters.

Voltaire says in the Annals of the Empire, anno 756, that Pepin having defeated the Saxons, gained no more by his victories than the payment of an old tribute of 300 horses, to which were added 500 cows. This, he remarks, was hardly worth the trouble of slaying so many thousand men.

The tribute paid to Henry II. of England, by his treaty with Roderic king of Connaught in Ireland, was a hide for every ten head of cattle in his dominions†.

The Doges of Venice were obliged to send annually to the emperors by way of tribute, rent or service, a mantle of cloth of gold, until they were excused, anno 998, by Otho the III‡.

The Romans exacted from the Cyrenians, an annual tribute of laser, which grew there in greater quantities, and in greater abundance than in any other part of the world§.

The prodigality (and he should have said, the shameful oppression and tyranny) of Constantine cannot be excused by any consideration of public or private interest for imposing upon Egypt an annual tribute of corn, for the benefit of his new capital, (Constantinople); feeding a lazy and insolent populace, at the expence of the husbandmen of an industrious province||.

The Ethiopian tribute to Sesostris was paid in ebony, gold and ivory ¶.

Jehosaphat drew a constant supply of small cattle from the Arabians; and indeed such nations as were tributary to the Jews paid a tribute in such commodities as their country afforded**.

In some few instances, tributes in kind have been attended with advantage; for example, when Athelstane demanded a tribute from the prince of North

* Volt. Hist. Russ. Emp. part i. chap. v.

† See the treaty in Rymer, vol. i. p. 41. and the Decem Scriptores (Chron. Brompton) p. 1106. and Leland, vol. i. p. 104.

‡ Volt. Gen. Hist. i. See also his Annals of the Empire, anno 1055.

§ An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 432.

|| See other reflections upon this subject, Gibbons' Hist. vol. ii. p. 20.

¶ An. Un. Hist. vol. ii. p. 60. Diod. Sic. c. iv. p. 28. This tribute was exacted every three years, by way of tribute, to the kings of Persia, saith Herodotus; also, Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xii. c. 4. p. 368. Wanley's Hist. of Man, b. iv. c. 33. It consisted of 200 billers of ebony tree, with some gold, and 20 great and massy elephant's teeth.

** An. Un. Hist. vol. iii. p. 188. Jehosaphat received from the Arabians 7700 rams, and 7700 he-goats. Micha king of Moab paid a tribute of 100,000 lambs, and 100,000 rams, with the wool, to the kings of Israel. II Kings, c. iii. v. 4.

Wales, of 300 wolves yearly; such numbers were killed the three first years, with a view of being exempted from that ignominious tribute, that in the fourth year, not one was to be found. The province was thus freed from the infinite trouble and danger which the great abundance of these animals had occasioned.

Grafshoppers were very destructive to the Isle of Lemnos, and every inhabitant was obliged to furnish a certain number as a tax*.

Besides the tributes and taxes paid to the kings of Persia in money, they received from Cappadocia yearly, 1500 horses, 2000 mules and 50,000 sheep; and from the Medes, nearly double. The Aspendians paid horses also. The Cilicians 360 white horses. The Arabians 1000 talents of Frankincense.

Voltaire in his *Additions to General History*, says, that the viceroys or governors of provinces, were obliged to furnish the emperor of China with 1000 war chariots, drawn by four horses abreast, and 1000 four-wheeled chariots.

3. *Tribute of Persons.*

But of all kinds of tributes, that of paying a certain number of the human race, to the sovereign of another state, is the most detestable.

The most ancient exaction of this kind, we read of in history, is that which the Athenians were compelled to pay to Minos king of Crete. It only amounted however, to seven young men and as many virgins, who were chosen by lot from among the principal families of Attica. This horrid tribute was thrice paid by the Athenians†.

The Kings of Persia had an annual tribute of 500 eunuchs paid them by the satraps of Babylon, 5 Ethiopian children from that country, and 100 boys and as many girls from the Colchians‡. And in more modern times the Saracens agreed to pay annually to Constantine Pagoratus fifty slaves §.

Mauregal king of Asturia, and Veremond his successor, submitted to pay an annual tribute of 100 beautiful damsels for the seraglio of Abderamen. The Mahometan sultan, Alfonso, refusing to pay this tribute, though a cruel mercilefs and artful tyrant, obtained the name of *The Chastell*.

Voltaire, in his *Essay of the Jews*, (vol. xii.) says, that when the Arabs conquered Spain they imposed a tax upon all the marriageable virgins throughout all the provinces. And even at this day, the Arabs of the Desert never make a treaty, without stipulating for some presents, and young women.

But there is no nation that ever reaped such advantage from this species of personal tribute as the Turks; for by means of it, the sultan not only replenishes his seraglio with the finest women of the East, but also by the same means, perpetually recruits his Janizaries.

4. *Tribute of Auxiliaries, or Assistance in War.*

The gentlest tribute of any, is, when a country becomes bound only to assist its conqueror with troops; and in one point of view this is a most advantageous

* See Bayle's *Dict.* vol. vi. p. 687, and note R. (Lemnos) *Plin.* lib. xi. c. 29. Sky larks destroyed grafshoppers, and were worshipped for it at Lemnos. *Plut.* de *Iside* and *Obride*. See *Abbé Raynal*, b. xvi. vol. 4. p. 76, as to the destruction in the island of St. John, by field mice and grafshoppers.

† *Langhorn's Plutarch*, vol. i. p. 23.

‡ *An. Un. Hist.* vol. v. p. 143.

§ *An. Un. Hist.* vol. xvii.

|| *Voltaire's General History*, vol. i. p. 107, 108, and 109. The Greeks obliged to pay a tribute of children, to serve in the seraglio, or among the Janizaries. See *Voltaire's Reflections*, *General History*, vol. ii. p. 64 and 65. c. 11.

circumstance to the conquered, because it leaves arms in their hands, and does not deprive them of all opportunity of acquiring knowledge in war. Thus the Chians were only obliged to furnish a certain number of ships of war to the Athenians.

The Greeks of Ionia were very happy under Cræsus king of Lydia, being free from all oppressions, and only bound to pay a certain number of ships, and a fixed quota of land forces, when required. They obtained also the same terms from Cyrus.

The Latins were the allies of Rome, and were exempted from tribute, but were obliged to furnish a certain quota of auxiliary troops for the common safety.

The Roman allies in general, besides the considerable taxes which they paid, raised double the number of forces, which were levied in Rome.

5 Religious Tributes.

The famous tax of *Peter pence* was a species of religious tribute paid by the laity of England to the pope of Rome, of which other instances also occur in history.

Offa, king of Mercia, first paid Peter's pence, as a voluntary gift, but it was afterwards pretended to be a tribute.

Cassimir, king of Poland paid a considerable sum annually to the pope by way of *Peter's pence* for the privilege that the whole Polish nation might be permitted to wear their hair cut in the form of the crown of a monk.

The Lama of Tartary receives tributes from other nations; also the Caliphs of the Saracens.

6 Colonial Tributes.

There is no question, which, some years ago, more agitated the minds of men, than what ought to be considered the proper system of connexion between a colony and a parent state, and it is difficult to avoid shuddering at entering into an investigation, which has so recently been the occasion of such infinite calamities to mankind.

It is certain, that no wife and politic nation, would either suffer its subjects to desert their own country, and still more would not be at any expence in the establishment of colonial settlements, if there were not some advantage to be derived from it, either in furnishing a military force, or in supplying the parent state with a revenue, or in affording commercial advantages.

To assist the mother country in time of war, seems to be an obligation naturally incumbent upon every colony; and we find hardly any, even among the Grecian colonies, who were in a peculiar manner unconnected with the parent state, who did not acknowledge that right.

The exaction of a revenue, however, seems to be contrary to the fundamental principles of colonization. The instances are rare, where men abandon their native country, who have much to lose, or who could afford to pay much to the public. It is hard, therefore, to compel them to pay to a remote state any share of a property which they have acquired without any material assistance from, or obligation to it.

As to the third question, respecting exclusive advantages of trade, or at least a preference upon equal terms, it seems not to be so unreasonable. It is likely

* An. Un. Hist. vol. vii. p. 431, and 433.

† Bund. Rom. Hist. v. ii. p. 621.

‡ An. Un. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 35.

§ Williams's Northern Governments, vol. ii. p. 374.

to tend to the mutual advantage both of the colony and of the parent state; hence, when it is not too rigorously enforced, it cannot be disapproved of*.

The Carthaginians sent 1-tenth part of their revenues to Tyre†.

The Corinthians exacted a revenue, or offerings, from their colonies‡.

It has been remarked that the colonies, or provinces of a free state, are in general more tyrannically used than those of a despotic one. Witness the complaints of the Lycians against the Rhodians: the petition of Achaia and of Macedon to be rather under the emperor than the senate; and the instances of Carthaginian tyranny recorded in history§. It is to be observed at the same time, that colonies have been much more frequently founded by free states than by despotic governments.

7. *Public Revenue from Pensions.*

A tribute is properly a payment from an inferior to a more powerful state. When it is paid by one state to another more nearly on a footing; or, when the state that receives is rather inferior in point of power and of opulence to the one that pays, in general it has acquired the name, not of tribute, but of pension.

The degenerate emperors of Rome were the first who began this dishonourable practice; they bribed the barbarians that surrounded them with certain annual allowances, which, in their apprehension, was a cheaper mode of securing peace than mustering forces against their enemies.

We find the same ignoble practice took place in England, whose monarchs were happy to purchase the absence of the Danes by payments of a similar nature.

Under this head may be comprehended the annual revenue received by Henry VII. of England from the monarch of France ||; and the pensions paid by the different powers in Europe to the pyratel states of Barbary. Thus Algiers receives 70,000 dollars from the Swedes, and the Dutch make them annual presents¶.

8. *Subsidies.*

A subsidy may be defined, a pension paid by a more opulent or powerful, to an inferior state, in consideration of assistance in time of war. We do not find many examples of this sort of tribute in ancient times. Of late, however, it has been well known, and it is a curious question of philosophic politics, how far it is justifiable. It has been condemned as trading in blood; as trafficking with the human species; as keeping shambles for the sake of gain; with a variety of other obnoxious comparisons. It is certainly a practice which can best be justified by custom. At the same time it ought to be considered, that the greater number of men that are trained to arms, the better in one respect it is for the species at large, as they stand the less chance of being placed in the

* Spanheim de usu et Prest. Numism. diss. ix. tom. 1. has proved at large that it was usual for all Colonies to adopt the religion, government, and laws of the State from whence they came, and Strabo, l. v. expressly says, that the Romans copied every thing of that kind from Alba, which was their mother city.

† Diod. Sic. p. 662. ‡ Diod. Sic. l. xii. c. 6, p. 275. See particularly in the instance of Thurium, ditto n. 276. of what importance colonial tributes were considered to be.

§ An. Un. Hist. vol. viii. p. 199, and 211. Ditto, vol. xiv. p. 113. Ditto, vol. xvii. p. 548. Also Harrington's works, p. 460, and 496.

|| Bacon, vol. iii. p. 447. Rapin, vol. i. p. 670. art. 2.

¶ Modern Travels, vol. i. p. 221. 223.

worst of all situations, namely, that of being subjected to the arbitrary power of an universal tyrant.

The Swiss have been particularly charged with this traffic in men, as if they sold their troops to those who would pay best for them, without considering the merits of the cause they are to fight for. But this charge is groundless; for, 1. They never grant troops to any prince or state, but by virtue of some preceding alliance: 2. Their troops are only employed in the defence of any state they are given to, and are never allowed to act offensively: 3. The state never receives any subsidy, or other advantage, from the prince or nation to whom a levy of troops is granted, the cantons being satisfied with procuring a beneficial service to their subjects, without reserving any profit to themselves*.

Philip, the father of Perseus, gave Scardilaidas, a petty king of Illyria, an annual subsidy of twenty talents; but Philip himself was afterwards obliged to accept of a subsidy from the Achæans. His son promised many subsidies to Gentius, king of Illyrium, and a considerable one to the Bastarnæ, who fought for hire†.

The Romans seldom used hired troops until the empire degenerated‡.

Of a Public Revenue from the Prerogative of judging and determining Causes, and other Rights of a judicial Nature.

Having thus gone over the different branches of public revenue in so far as respects prerogatives connected with a state of War, it will next be proper to enter into an examination of those, which arise from a state of Peace; and of these the income derived from rights of a judicial nature, comes first to be considered.

This general head may be divided, into five branches, namely, 1. the income derived from judging and determining causes. 2. From fine and pecuniary punishments. 3. From confiscations. 4. From registers, and 5. From stamps.

1. *Revenue from judging and determining Causes.*

It well known that the authority of monarchs, in the heroic times as they are called, principally arose from their judicial powers and privileges, and on the exercise of these depended a great part of the revenues they received§.

Even in England, in the reign of Henry II. the itinerant judges were in a manner tax gatherers, "et sub pretextu justitiæ pecuniam colligerunt||."

Caligula, among his other exactions, laid a tax upon all manner of law suits, and judgments. Whenever any action was commenced or decided he had the fortieth part of the sum about which the parties contended: and if any man was convicted of having compounded or given away his right, he was sure to be punished¶.

Peter the Great, on the other hand, forbid his judges to receive even fees, however moderate, considering them an oppressive tax on the fortunes and pro-

* Account of Switzerland, 122, 123, 124. Bullinger contended that the hiring or letting of troops by the Swiss, was unlawful. See Bayle's Dict. Voce (Bullinger.)

† Bund. Rom. Hist. vol. iv. p. 441, and 443.

‡ As to Mercenaries Alex. ab. Alexandro. vol. ii. p. 712.

§ Potter's Antiq. vol. i. ch. 2. || Matt. Paris, per Watts, p. 360. Bacon's Selden, part i, p. 124. Harrington's Oceana, p. 65, 66. Monthly Review. vol. xxvi. p. 2.

¶ Suet. in Calig. c. xl. p. 139, Wanley's Hist. of Man, b. iv. c. 33.

perties of those concerned in law suits*. This however seems to have been in some measure altered; at least the administration of justice in Russia is partly defrayed in this manner; when a man is condemned to pay a fine of a rouble, which is about four shillings sterling, he is ordered to pay to the judge two copicks and a half, (a copick being the hundredth part of a rouble) and one copick to the attorney†.

In Turkey, the judges' fees are 10 per cent. on whatever sum is recovered‡.

2. Fines and Pecuniary Punishments.

If the public is intitled to derive any income from suits in civil matters, it has surely a better claim to any profit that can arise from the exercise of a criminal jurisdiction.

Fines are occasionally given to the person who has been injured, but this cannot always be the case, for sometimes it may be necessary, for the sake of example, to lay on a much larger pecuniary punishment, than may be adequate to indemnify the person who has been injured; and sometimes it may be difficult to discover who was the person injured.

It may be observed, that in almost all states this source of revenue has taken place: unfortunately however, it is least attended to where it is most necessary; for example, in many civilized states where a variety of venial offences are perpetually arising, for which fines are the proper punishment; when that system is not adopted, they are suffered to pass with impunity§.

We shall now proceed, to give various instances of fines, without following any regular order in the arrangement.

The father of the celebrated Agesilaus (Archidamas king of Sparta), being but a little man, was fined by the ephori, as Theophrastus informs us, for marrying a little woman: "she will bring us," said they, "a race of pigmies instead of kings||."

Fines were rigorously exacted at Athens; Miltiades, the father of Cymon, was fined 50 talents, and being unable to pay it, he was thrown into prison where he died; and Callias, the richest of the Athenians, falling in love with his daughter Elpinice, he was obliged to pay her father's fine, (which it was thought disgraceful to leave it unpaid) before he would accept of him¶.

Timotheus, son to the famous Conon, and Iphicrates another renowned Athenian general, having declined fighting the enemy during a storm, were cashiered and fined. Timotheus unable to pay his fine, returned to Chilos, where he

* Voltaire's Hist. Russ. Empire, part ii. c. 13.

† Modern Travels, vol. ii. p. 184.

‡ See Williams's Northern Governments vol. ii. p. 45, 46. See also on the subject of law suits, Voltaire's curious account of the manner in which they endeavour to make up law suits in Holland, by a tribunal of reconciling judges, called "*The Peace Makers*," vol. xvii. in a tract, entitled Fragment of a Letter on a very useful Custom which prevails in Holland. See also, in the same volume, a singular dialogue between a client and his lawyer.

§ There is no officer, says Aristotle, whose business is more necessary, and yet more difficult, than he whose duty it is to take care that sentence is executed upon those who are condemned; and that every one pay the fines laid on him. This office is very disagreeable, on account of the odium attending it, so that no one will engage therein, without it is made very profitable, or if they do, they will not be very willing to execute it according to law. But it is most necessary, as it is of no service to pass judgment in any cause, unless that judgment is carried into execution, for without this, human society could not subsist; for which reason it is best that this office should not be executed by one person, but by some of the magistrates. In like manner, the taking care that those fines are levied, which are ordered by the judges, should be divided among different persons. Polit. l. vi. c. 7. p. 334, and 338.

|| Plut. vol. iv. p. 66.

¶ Plut. vol. iii. p. 276, and 277.

died of a broken heart. Upon this, the Athenians remitted the fine to his son, 1-10th excepted, which they unaccountably applied to repair Conon's walls*.

Fines were a great source of the Athenian revenue, but the amount thereof was considerably diminished, in consequence of 1-10th being given to Minerva, and 1-50th to the other divinities†.

Fines were considered in ancient times as no improper mode of raising a revenue. They were apart of the Mosaic law‡. At Athens they fined people who were convicted of idleness. A Spartan who had heard of such a fine being actually levied, (according to Plutarch, vol. 1, page 135) wished to see him who had been condemned for keeping up his dignity, and living like a gentleman. Cymon at one time, was fined 50 talents, or 9687*l.* 10*s.* Dysacridas was so severely fined for giving up the Cadmea, that he was forced to quit Lacedemon. Demades the orator, was fined seven times for proposing edicts contrary to law§.

At Athens, if an accuser had not one-fifth part of the suffrages of the people in his favour, he was fined 1000 drachmas. Demosthenes, for corruption, was fined 50 talents and sentenced to be kept in prison until it was paid, but he fled into exile. Some time after he was recalled, but they would not remit, or discharge his fine. He was appointed however to adorn the altars of Jupiter the Preserver, and had 50 talents for his trouble||. Afterwards, when the Athenians lost their liberty they were not so scrupulous as to fines, but remitted one laid on by Cleomedon, of 50 talents, at the request of Demetrius¶.

Verres was fined 750,000 drachmæ, or 24,218*l.* sterling. The legal fine for extortion at Rome, was double the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge 322,916*l.* against Verres, consequently the fine ought to have been 645,832*l.* It is believed by some, that this detestable prætor was not punished at all.

The Salic or Ripuarian law, and that of the Lombards, had set a price in money, on most transgressions. Their civil law, which appeared humane, was in fact, more cruel than ours, for it left the liberty of doing ill, to all who were able to pay for it. The mildest law, is that which, by putting the most terrible constraint on iniquity, prevents the multiplication of crimes**.

Among the Cimbri and the ancient Germans the right that individuals claimed of revenging private quarrels, was found to be attended with innumerable disorders; and the wise and learned among them, began to think, that it was for the general interest, that the magistrates should interpose their authority, in these quarrels, and that they should oblige the offended person, or his friends to receive a present from the aggressor, by way of compensation: such a mark of submission, satisfied the punctilio of honour, consoled the revenge of the offended, and was a sufficient security, against any fear of a new offence.

But besides this compensation, the magistrates established to watch over the public peace, pretended, that they were insulted by every thing which troubled it, and therefore, besides the recompence to the offended person, they demanded a compensation likewise, *which was said to be a debt due to the public, as a recompence for the pains which they took to accommodate differences, and to detect the culpable.*

These fines were for a long time the only punishment which was used among this free and courageous people, who esteemed their blood too much to shed it in any other manner than in battle. *Their kings had got for a long time any other revenues than the produce of these fines, and the revenue of their own do-*

* An. Un. Hist. vol. vi. p. 510.

† Roll. An. Hist. vol. iv. p. 435.

‡ An. Un. Hist. vol. iii. p. 130.

§ Plut. vol. ii. p. 329, 330, and vol. v. p. 29.

|| Plut. vol. v. p. 264, and 266.

¶ Plut. vol. v. p. 355.

** Vide in Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. i. p. 71, 72, 73, are various examples of curious fines. The life of a bishop, 900 sous of gold.

mains, other kinds of impositions were unknown for many ages after the time that these laws began to take place.

This compensation, by the Saxon laws, was paid in money, but if the offender was not in a situation to pay the fine in money, he paid it in cattle*.

As very few crimes were severely punished by the ancient laws of Sweden, the punishments being only fines and confiscations, these formed a considerable branch of the public revenue†.

Peter the Great ordered, that a woman should be obliged to pay a fine, who took a place in an assembly, to which she was not entitled‡.

If any Pole was convicted of having eat flesh during lent, it was enacted, that he should have all his teeth drawn, unless he could pay in lieu of them, a considerable sum of money, by way of fine or compensation§.

3. Revenue from Confiscations.

Fines are but partial confiscations: the first is a punishment for small offences, the second for those of a more heinous nature. It cannot be accounted a good sign of any nation, where either the one or the other proves highly productive.

It is certain that in all states, confiscations have taken place, and have been appropriated for the general purposes of the society. But it is a question at the same time, which has occasioned great speculation, to what length confiscations ought to be carried, some being of opinion, that the property of the person convicted, ought to be completely forfeited; and others thinking, that it is sufficient, unless the life of the person is also forfeited, to take his property in the state only during his own life.

But as a turbulent spirit ought as much as possible to be repress'd, particularly in those who are possessed of considerable property; the more rigorous system of punishment, seems on the whole, to be preferable.

By Clodius's law, Ptolemy of Cyprus's estate was confiscated for the Roman people||. Joseph raised the king of Egypt 1000 talents by confiscation. This shews how impolitic it is to farm revenues, for it would appear that the farmers of the revenue could confiscate the fortunes of such as would not pay their demands; which forfeitures, till the time of Joseph, did not accrue to the crown, but went to the farmers¶. The estates of many young Patricians confiscated for opposing the Agrarian law**. The estates of the Decemvirs also sold and the produce put into the treasury††. Confiscations were an inexhaustible fund to Caligula. He said of a poor man "I have been imposed upon, Junius is not guilty," i. e. is not rich‡‡.

Cæsar confiscated Pompey's estate, and the estates of his adherents§§, and finding that the rich, on account of their wealth, which could maintain them any where, despised ordinary punishments, as banishment, and the like, he decreed that the goods of parricides, should be altogether confiscated, and the half of the goods of those condemned for other crimes. This is an argument for confiscation|||.

It was usual for the Romans to confiscate for the public use, the goods of such as were guilty of capital or atrocious crimes¶¶. Thus, after Tarquin's expulsion

* See Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 180, 181, and 182.

† See Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 441.

‡ See Williams's North. Govern. vol. ii. p. 128.

§ Williams, vol. ii. p. 361.

|| Mid. Cicero, vol. i. p. 365.

¶ An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 393.

** An. Un. Hist. vol. ii. p. 474.

†† Do. p. 500.

‡‡ Do. vol. xiv. p. 286, 287.

§§ Roll. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 125.

||| Suet. in Cæsar, c. xlii. See also the notes.

¶¶ See Alex. ab, Alexan. l. iii. c. 23. vol. i. p. 820.

field belonging to him, (a part I suppose of the royal demesnes), was dedicated to Mars, and hence called the Campus Martius.

Confiscations are a great source of revenue in Turkey, and what is extremely shocking, they are appropriated for the Sultan's privy purse. This is one of the most inveterate acts of tyranny that can well be imagined, namely, that the property of a whole family, should devolve to the sovereign, upon the condemnation of a criminal. They present the sultan with the head of his vizir, which is sometimes worth to him many millions of livres. Nothing can be more detestable than a privilege of giving such rewards to crueky, such encouragement to injustice*.

This mode of raising a public revenue by confiscation, is particularly condemned by Aristotle "Our demagogues (says he) to flatter the people, occasion frequent confiscations in the courts, for which reason, those who have the welfare of the state really at heart, should act directly opposite to what they do, and enact a law, to prevent forfeitures from being divided amongst the people, or paid into the treasury, but to have them set apart for sacred uses; for those who are of a bad disposition, would not then be the less cautious, as their punishment would be the same, and the community would not be so ready to condemn those on whom they sat in judgment, when they were to get nothing by it."

It is difficult, says the same great author, to get the common people to attend the public assemblies, unless they are paid for it. This, when there is not a sufficient public revenue, is fatal to the nobles, for the deficiencies therein must necessarily be made up by taxes, confiscations, and fines, imposed by corrupt courts of justice, which things have already destroyed many democracies†.

4. Revenue from Registers.

We are told that Servius Tullius ordained, that a register should be kept, of the birth and death of every person, and also when any youth first put on the virile robe. By this means the number of Roman citizens was always known, particularly those who were fit to bear arms, and at the same time some revenue was raised to the state.

But in modern times, registers are principally calculated for preserving deeds in the public archives; and as such preservation is of great importance to individuals, it does not seem unreasonable that they should pay a small duty for the advantages they derive therefrom. In order also to enforce the necessity of registering, the law might declare, that no deed was valid, that had not gone through that form‡. This brings the tax of registers, under the present head, as being connected with the judicial authority of the sovereign.

Voltaire, in his Annals of the Empire, observes, that in the year 1186, one Bertrand bishop of Metz, introduced the famous custom of having archives in every town, to register the deeds and writings regarding private estates. Before that time, every thing was proved by witnesses only, and almost all disputes were decided by combat.

5. Revenue from Stamps.

It is recorded, that the States of Holland were at one time so much puzzled, what tax to lay, that they offered a considerable reward to any person who

* Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. p. 5. chap. 5.

† Polit. I. vi. c. 5. p. 324, 325, 326.

‡ That is the case regarding annuity bonds in England.

could discover a tax, that, whilst it would be useful to the government, would not be burthensome upon the subjects. The tax that suggested, was, that of *stamps*.

This mode of raising a revenue, is founded upon a prerogative which the public claims, of forbidding any deed or paper to be valid, that is not written upon an article purchased from or authenticated by the public. It undoubtedly was a happy idea, and seems to be an unexceptionable method of raising money. Indeed plans have been proposed and might perhaps gradually be carried into execution by which a large proportion of the revenue of the state might be raised by means of this invention, for it is evident if no discharges were valid unless written ones, and if those were always obliged to be extended upon stamp paper, paying so much in the pound, it is hardly possible to estimate what sum might be raised under such a system in an opulent and commercial country.

In Denmark, there is a heavy tax upon all the stamp paper used in that kingdom. All the proceedings of their courts of justice, the commissions and letters patent, which are made out for titles, or public employments; also all kinds of contracts, conventions, obligations, receipts, and other public acts, must be written upon stamp paper. Bonds and other obligations, for the value of twenty pounds sterling, may be written upon a stamp of no more than two shillings English value*.

In regard to stamp duties in England, the reader is referred for some observations upon that subject to a former part of this work (vol. ii. p. 378.)

CHAP. V

Of a Public Revenue from the Sale of Honours, Offices, and Franchises of various Sorts.

The sovereign has sometimes made use of the prerogative with which he is invested, of conferring titles and marks of distinction, or offices of profit, of public franchises, in such a manner as to yield a revenue.

It is contended by some, that a considerable revenue might be raised in England by a sale of those offices which are at present in the gift of the king, and by the disposal of which, the influence of the crown has been so greatly augmented.

It is certain that the power which persons in high situations obtain of obliging their dependents, has often induced weak and inefficient men to push themselves into the highest offices of the state; and when so many places are in prospect, many are induced to pursue a sycophantic line of conduct, instead of attempting to be really useful.

The various places either directly, or indirectly, at the disposal of the crown, must at least amount to two millions per annum, which if sold at only twenty years purchase, would yield a sum (forty millions) which would soon pay off our national incumbrances, great as they may appear.

Perhaps indeed a plan might not be formed, by which a proportion of the revenue of a state might be raised, even by means of titles, and marks of distinction; and the vanity of mankind might thus be made subservient to the public revenue.

The Athenians were forbid by Augustus to sell the freedom of their city†. The freedom of Rome sold high‡.

* Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 398, and 399.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. vii. p. 394.

‡ Acts. xxi. 18.

Ptolemy Auletes paid 1,162,500*l.* sterling for the title of being declared a friend and ally of the Roman republic*.

Cæsar drew immense sums from this source†.

Galba sold by his freedmen, or suffered them to sell the punishment of innocent people, and immunity to criminals‡.

Vespasian did not hesitate to sell offices and even pardons to such as were accused, whether innocent or guilty. He employed the most rapacious procurators, using them like sponges to wet them when dry, and to squeeze them when wet§.

The same emperor, when one of his favourite servants petitioned him to bestow an office on one whom he pretended to be his brother, he put off the petitioner for that time, and sent for the person; and having demanded, he received from him the money which he had promised to pay to his intercessor: the office was then given without delay. The favourite having applied to him again on the same subject, he told him "find out another brother, for this man is my brother and not yours||."

Cardinal Richlieu created one president and 24 new counsellors. It is certain there was no want of judges, and it was a shame to make new ones, merely to get a little money by the sale of their employments. The parliament complained of this step¶.

Sixtus Quintus, in order to supply his expences, was obliged to give a greater scope to the sale of public offices, than had been done by his predecessors. Sixtus IV. Julius II. and Leo X. had led the way, but Sixtus V. greatly increased the burden**.

Lewis XII. was the first in France, who sold the offices which are called Royal, and especially those belonging to the finances. Would it not have been better, says Voltaire, to have established an equal assessment of taxes, than to have introduced the shameful venality of public employments into a country of which he wanted to be esteemed the father. For this monarch, when he marched into Italy, anno 1499, instead of increasing, diminished the taxes, and by this indulgence he first acquired the title of the father of the people††.

All that Lewis XII. can be reproached with, was the sale of employments, which in his time did not extend to judicial offices. In a reign of 17 years, he raised, by this means, the sum of 1,200,000 livres in the diocese of Paris only; but the land tax and the duties on merchandize were very moderate.

It was always a favourite object with him not to lay any heavy burden upon the people. There was no new impost in his time, and when Fromanteau presented to the squanderer, Henry III. anno 1580, an account of the difference of the revenue in the two reigns, an account of what was *not* paid under Lewis XII. and what was exacted by Henry III. required a large volume.

The crosses of the knights of St. Lewis, a reward invented by the king, in 1693, and then the object of emulation among the officers, were exposed to sale in the beginning of Chamillard's administration, and were to be bought for fifty crowns a piece, at any of the war-offices‡‡.

It was one of the greatest faults and misfortunes of the French government, says Voltaire, that France was the only country in the world, where the office of a judge is venal. And it is a kind of insult upon the crown, that the place of king's attorney, should cost more than the first dignities of the state§§.

* Rollin, An. Hist. vol. x. p. 229. An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 437. Suet. in Cæfare, c. 54. † Melmoth's Cicero, vol. i. p. 51. note 2. vol. ii. p. 322. Cæsar, Bell. Gal. l. i. c. 43. ‡ Suet. in Galb. § Suet. in Vesp. cap. 16.

|| Suet. in cap. 23. ¶ Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. part 5. c. xviii. p. 240.

** Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. part 6. c. xviii. p. 205. †† Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. ii. part 3. c. 19. p. 117, 118. ‡‡ Volt. Age of Lewis XIV. 16 March, 1702. c. 189.

§§ Add. to Gen. Hist. vol. viii. c. 197.

Lewis XIV. in his instructions to his grandson, advised him to avoid as much as possible granting favours to those who give money in order to obtain them.

* The comptroller general, Pontchartrain, anno 1696, sold patents of nobility for 2000 crowns; 300 persons bought them; but the resource was transitory, and the shame permanent *.

Anno 1731, the company that managed Louisiana, in order to obtain leave to alienate its privilege, was obliged to pay down the sum of 1,450,000 livres, or 63,437*l.* 10*s.* sterling; for, says Raynal, there are some states, where the right of being ruined, of extricating one's self from destruction, or of enriching one's self, are all equally purchased, because good or evil, whether public or private, may prove a subject of Finance †.

Voltaire has some very good observations on the sale of offices, in "The World as it goes," or "The Vision of Babauç." Sect. 3. 8. 10. He attempts to prove, particularly in Sect. 10, that such sales are not improper, and that judges and officers who have bought their commissions, have both of them acted well in their respective capacities.

In 1621, James I. sent a message to parliament, in which he calls himself "*the fountain of honour*," and desires the House of Commons, not to meddle any farther with the baronets or places of honour, for that is a right belonging to the king †.

Besides the sale of honours or offices, some sovereigns have drawn a Revenue, by the disposal of public franchises, and titles of sovereignty.

The Emperors of Germany, at different times, have raised considerable sums of money by selling franchises to the towns of which they were Lord Paramount §.

The emperor of Wencefflaus sold every thing, and at last disposed of the emperor's title to Lombardy, to Galonzo Visconti, declaring it, according to some authors, entirely independent of the empire, for 150 golden crowns. No Law prevented the emperor from making such alienations. Had there subsisted any such law, Visconti would never have hazarded so considerable a sum ||.

CHAP. VI.

Of a Public Revenue, from the Prerogative entrusted to the Government of a Country, of acting as *the Arbiter or Director of Commerce*.

This important branch of the present inquiry, may be considered under the following general heads; namely. 1. Commerce carried on by the government of a country through the medium of its own agents. 2. Monopolies farmed out. 3. Monopolies granted and not farmed. 4. Lotteries. 5. Monopoly of Posting. 6. Coinage, whether of metals or of paper. 7. Tolls and Passage Taxes, and 8. Port, Light-House, and Convoy Duties, levied for the purpose of encouraging or protecting Commerce, exclusive of the Customs, which is properly a tax on consumption.

* Volt. Age of Lewis XIV. c. 202. of the Finances. Also Additions to the Age of Lewis XIV. vol. vi. c. 168, 169. art. 3. † Vol iv. book 16. p. 85. Some excellent observations upon this subject in Volt. Add. to Gen. Hist. vol. viii. ch. 202. Finances, § 3.

‡ Chandler's Debates, vol. i. p. 364. § See in particular Voltaire's Annals of the Empire, anno 1286, and 1287. Also as to other singular sales en. 1358, and 1376.

|| See also anno 1417, as to the sale of the electorate of Brandenburg, and 1418. Also anno 1423, 1434. Nothing was more common, says Voltaire in his Annals of the Empire, anno 1469, &c. in the 14th and 15th centuries, than for sovereignties to be sold at a very low price.

1. Of Commerce carried on by Agents.

The careless manner in which the affairs of a great nation are usually conducted, renders it hardly possible for the public to derive much advantage from commerce, except through the medium of monopoly; not being able to withstand the rivalry of private competitors. We are told, however, by Aristotle, that states, in ancient times, when they wanted money, were advised to monopolise their commodities, and that some who were employed in the management of public affairs, confined themselves to that province or object alone*.

One of the most remarkable instances of this mode of raising a revenue, was in the case of Solomon, who, by trading to Ophir, at one time gained 420 talents of gold, which, by Arbuthnot, is calculated to amount to 2,604,000*l*.†.

Other Eastern nations, however, seem to have had a very despicable idea of commerce; for when Cyrus was threatened with the resentment of the Greeks, for attacking the Ionians, he answered, that he could not be afraid of a people, who, in the midst of their cities, had a place of public resort, where they met for mutual impositions and deceits. He alluded to the Grecian market place‡.

We are told a curious anecdote connected with this subject, respecting Hormisdas the first, or the liberal. One of his governors wrote to this monarch by express, informing him, that he could purchase a quantity of very fine diamonds, for 100,000 pieces of gold. Hormisdas wrote him back, that he had no occasion for them. Upon this the governor sent him a second express, to acquaint him that he might gain cent. per cent. by the purchase. To this Hormisdas replied, that a hundred, or even a thousand per cent. would not tempt him. "If I become trader, said he, if the royal treasures are employed to forestall the market, what must become of the merchants of Persia§."

That Caligula might leave no means of pillaging the people untried, he kept a brothel in the palace, *by way of trade*, and having furnished a number of separate cells in it, and placed women in them, he invited both young and old to come in and gratify their lust there. He gave out money at great usury, and he made even profit of gambling at dice, but chiefly by lying and perjury. He also took new year's gifts, and when a daughter was born to him, complaining of poverty, he collected money for her aliment and dowry||.

Nero enacted, that he should have a monopoly of the Tyrian dye, and of colours like the amethyst ¶.

Vespasian practised a kind of traffic which would have been scandalous in a private man. In Rome a senator could exercise no traffic, a knight could only farm the revenues, and forestalling was reckoned scandalous even in a plebeian. Vespasian trafficked in forestalling, which was considered as peculiarly disgraceful. Senators were expressly forbid to trade, first by the Claudian, secondly by the Julian law, and Dio says, that by Hadrian's constitution they could not even farm the Revenues**.

Raynal gives a good description of the manner in which the commerce of a sovereign is carried on. The king, he observes, acquired the sole possession of all the refuse of the furs; and got the skins of all the beasts that were killed in summer and autumn: the most ordinary, the thinnest, and most easily spoiled, were reserved for the king. All these damaged furs, unfairly bought, and carelessly heaped up in warehouses, were eaten up by the moths. At the proper season for sending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to

* Polit. i. l. c. 11.

† 1 Kings, c. ix. v. 28. Arbuthnot on coins, page 208.

‡ An. Un. Hist. vol. vii. p. 432.

§ An. Un. Hist. vol. xi. p. 153.

|| Suet. in Calig. cap. 42.

¶ Suet. in Nero, cap. 32.

** Suet. in Vesp. cap. 16. and notes.

the discretion of soldiers, passengers, and watermen, who, as they had no concern in those goods, did not take the least care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were sold for half of the little they were worth. Thus the returns were rather less than the turns advanced by the government for this losing trade*.

In Russia, the sovereigns dealt much in commerce, and after the reign of John Basilus, the Czars grew rich, especially when another John Basilowitz, an. 1551, had taken Casau from the Tartars. But the subjects of Russia still continued poor, for as those absolute sovereigns had engrossed almost the whole trade of the empire themselves, and raised exactions on those who had something to live upon, they soon accumulated treasures, and on public days of festivity, displayed an Asiatic magnificence†.

The Elector of Saxony enjoys all the profit of the porcelain manufacture. The expence is only 80,000 crowns annually, and it yields yearly 200,000, besides magnificent presents and great quantities for himself‡.

The China manufacture at Berlin, has made such progress towards perfection, that it almost equals that of Dresden, both in beauty of painting, and elegance of pattern; and is even said to excel it in the materials of which it is composed. As this manufacture is carried on for the king's account, his majesty, (who understands perfectly the practical science of ways and means), employs among others, one good expedient to promote the sale of its productions. Every jew who marries, is obliged to buy directly, at the royal warehouse, a certain quantity of china, proportioned to his circumstances; and this quantity is never smaller than 200 crowns, amounting sometimes to 6000. The purchaser is allowed to sell what he has bought, nay even to send it to foreign countries without paying duty§.

Salt was monopolised by the exchequer at Rome, until the expulsion of the Tarquins, when every one was permitted to sell that article publicly||.

One of the most considerable branches of the Swiss revenue, arises from the corn trade, which is properly a *monopoly*, for they oblige all the inns to purchase their corn from the state¶.

2. *Monopolies farmed out.*

Sometimes a state, instead of employing Agents to carry on any trade, it monopolizes; farms it out to a few individuals: the farms of tobacco and of salt in France, are well known instances of this sort of Revenue.

A body of English merchants at the head of whom was the Marquis of Carmathen, gave the Czar 15,000*l.* sterling, to have the exclusive privilege of selling tobacco in Russia. Before this time the Russian church regarded the use of *snuff* as *highly sinful*, and the Patriarch had absolutely forbid it from being introduced into the Russian dominions**.

* Book iv. p. 62, 63. See also his observations on the destructive consequences of the monopoly of the trade to Hudson's bay, ditto vol. iv. b. 17. p. 173. Also his thoughts on the mischiefs which have been done to France, by finance, particularly by destroying the culture of tobacco, in Guiana, do. vol. iv. b. 16. p. 99.

† Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. ii. part 3. c. 28. p. 175.

‡ Modern Trav. vol. iii. p. 82.

§ Observations on the Military Establishment of the king of Prussia, p. 48 and 49.

|| Bundy's Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 209.

¶ Addison's Travels, p. 289.

** See farther on this subject, Williams's North. Govern. vol. ii. p. 107.

Voltaire informs us how anxious the monks were to persuade the Russians, that God was highly provoked at the introduction of tobacco into Muscovy. Smoking, they contended, was unlawful, though getting drunk with brandy was not; because the scripture saith, "that that which proceedeth out of the mouth, defileth a man, and that which entereth into it, doth not defile."

In the reign of Charles I. the nation suffered much during the space of eight or nine years, in which parliaments were denied to England, more especially by the multitudes of the monopolies which were granted by the king, and laid upon all things of most common and necessary use, such as soap, salt, wine, leather, sea coal, and many others of that kind; and the celebrated verse of Claudian, was unfortunately verified.

“Regia privatis crescunt æraria damnis*.”

3. *Monopolies granted by the State, in consideration of Money paid.*

When the commerce to the East Indies was discovered, it appeared to be placed at such an enormous distance, and to require so great a capital, on the one hand, and on the other hand, was so likely to be advantageous to those who engaged in it, that almost universally it has been given to great companies, who paid considerable sums on that account to the respective states from whom their privileges were obtained.

In England also, there are other companies, as the Bank, and the two principal Assurance Companies, who have purchased from the public the rights they enjoy.

The king of Naples sold the monopoly of snow to certain merchants, and by that means drew a revenue from it†. The ice merchant at Leghorn, paid a thousand pounds sterling, and the tobacco merchants 10,000*l.* sterling, for the monopoly of these articles‡.

4. *Lotteries.*

As a source of revenue, this is only a modern invention; and it is evident, were it not for the monopoly of this species of gambling, which the public insists on enjoying, that it could not possibly prove of any material advantage; for individuals would soon set up private lotteries, could afford to carry them on with less profit, and would soon draw all the benefit of such speculations to themselves.

The Romans had lotteries, particularly whilst they were under the government of the emperors. The tickets were distributed gratis among those guests who attended their entertainments, and all of them gained some prize. Heliogabalus took pleasure in making the prizes of very disproportionate value. Some of the prizes were 10 camels, others 10 flies, some 10 pounds of gold, 10 eggs, and the like. The plays which Nero gave, were concluded by lotteries, consisting of wheat, wine, stuffs, gold, silver, slaves, ships, houses, and lands§.

In England, lotteries certainly took place in the reign of Elizabeth||, and according to Raynal, the two American companies in her reign, were favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in her dominions¶.

In the year 1769, it was resolved to establish a state lottery at Altona, which was to be guaranteed by the king of Denmark, for whose benefit it was supposed to be instituted, but it would seem that the public faith was prostituted to the avarice of the ministers**.

* May's Hist. of the Parl. of England.

† See Addison's Travels, p. 145. Where there is a curious account of this monopoly.

‡ Addison's Travels, p. 227.

§ D'Arny's Life of the Rom. p. 203. An. Un. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 498. Heliogabalus's Lotteries described in the Augustæ Historiæ vol. i. p. 847. See a curious treatise on Lotteries, by Gataker, Bayle's Dict. vol. v. p. 400, note L.

|| Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 591. Letter. ¶ Raynal, vol. iv. lib. 17. p. 141.

** Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 412.

5. *The Post Office, and Post Horses.*

It is also upon the principles of monopoly, that the revenue of the post office is founded; in consequence of the power which the public assumes to itself, of prohibiting the interference of private competitors.

The Oriental historians give the credit of the invention of a post office, to Darab, king of Persia, as they call him, who is supposed to be the Darius Ochus of the Greeks. He applied himself particularly to the invention of new methods of giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects; among other wise and glorious acts of his administration, the settling posts, throughout all Persia is particularly recorded; the whole of which, was planned with such skill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire by couriers setting out regularly twice a day*.

But it does not appear that this was established with any views to revenue†.

The Persians had a method of conveying intelligence, by means of men with loud voices, stationed on high watch towers, in the narrow valleys of Persia, who roared out the command from one to the other‡. But this must have been uncertain, and many mistakes must have been committed.

Augustus at first, had only running posts established §, but afterwards carriages were allowed. Spartianus, in Severo, says, that to please the people, that emperor took the keeping of these post carriages from private hands, and gave it to the exchequer. None had the benefit of going post without an order from the Emperor; and we are told that a Syrian governor in the reign of Pertinax, obliged one who came to him, by these posts without an order, to return on foot. Augustus was the first Roman emperor who ordained them in Italy, but Spartian observes, that the institution of posts was more extended by Hadrian.

Lewis XI. established the post office in France, but not as it is now regulated in all parts of Europe. He only renewed the veredarii of Charlemain, and of the ancient Roman empire. 230 messengers were always employed in carrying his orders. Private people might ride the horses appointed for these messengers, paying 10 pence a horse, for every station of four leagues. The letters were delivered from town to town by the king's messengers, a regulation, which for a long time, only obtained in France ||.

6. *Coinage. Whether of Metals, and other Substances, or of Paper.*

Among the other prerogatives vested in the government of a country, as the director or arbiter of Commerce, that of enjoying the exclusive privilege of coining money, is one of the most important; and is sometimes productive of revenue.

The origin of money is well explained by Aristotle ¶. He observes that the

* An. Un. Hist. vol. v. p. 427.

† Posting at Rome, was at the public expence, according to Adrian's decree, An. Un. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 161. Xenophon gives the invention of posting to Cyrus. Roll. An. Hist. vol. ii. p. 224. Cyrop. l. viii. p. 232. See a long Dissertation of it by Rollin, vol. ii. p. 305, in his An. Un. Hist. and do. p. 299.

‡ Diod. Sic. l. xix. c. ii. p. 616.

§ Sueton. in August. l. 49.

|| Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. ii. p. 75. part iii. c. 12.

¶ Polit. lib. i. c. ix. p. 27, 28. On the subject of coins and coining, see Bayle's Dict. vol. vii. p. 431. note E. Mariana (John). Revenue by coining. Bacon's Works, vol. iii. p. 495. As to Toland's (John) discourse on coins, Bayle's Dict. vol. ix. p. 606. Money and coins among the Saxons, Bacon's Selder. c. xlix. p. 85. Lord Somers's excellent plan for stopping clipping, Bayle's Dict. vol. ix. p. 286. note. E.

uses of possession are two ; the one supposing an inseparable connexion with the thing possessed, the other not. For instance, a shoe may either be worn, or exchanged for something else, both these are the uses of the shoe ; for he who exchanges a shoe, with some man who wants one, for money, or provisions, uses the shoe, undoubtedly as a shoe, but not according to the original intention. For shoes were not at first made to be exchanged.

Barter being once established, introduced the use of money, as might be expected. Hence money made its way into commerce ; for it was necessary to invent something for mutual exchange, which should be both valuable in itself, and easily conveyed ; and this at first passed in value, simply according to its weight or size, but in process of time, it had a certain stamp, which expressed its value, to save the trouble of weighing.

Coinage of Metals, and other Articles.

In Ethiopia, salt answers the purpose of money, all other goods being commonly sold for it at fairs.

This salt is not like that of Europe, but is found in almost inexhaustible quantities, on the borders of the kingdoms of Tiger and Angot, and of the kingdom of Dancale, from which they hew out pieces like bricks, almost a span long, four fingers thick, and broad, wonderfully white and hard. It is found in the greatest abundance, in a plain on the borders of these kingdoms, which they call the country of salt, and is of extent four days' journey in length, and one in breadth*.

The Lydians were the first that invented the coinage of gold and silver †.

It is said that Servius Tullius was the first that coined money at Rome, and the arguments in favour of that idea, render it extremely probable‡. He only coined brass, and perhaps lead, which was formerly taken in payment by weight alone. The first coin was stamped with a boar, an ox, and a ram ; which were the victims sacrificed in a lustrum, when taxes were first paid, according to Servius's mode of taxation, by centuries. This money, and afterwards all money among the Romans, was called pecunia, from pecus, in consequence of the figures of cattle being stamped on the coin. It is probable, before this period, that the Romans either used the coins of their neighbours, or took payments by weight §.

There was a goddess at Rome, called Juno moneta, or Juno the adviser, in whose temple silver was first coined, and she got the name of adviser, according to Suidas, because, when her statue was consulted during the war with Pyrrhus, and asked, whether the treasures of the republic would not be exhausted by the war, she answered, that the Roman revenues would never fail, as long as the nation continued just as well as brave ||.

It is a singular anecdote recorded of an Indian prince (king of Toprobane) who having several pieces of Roman money shewn him, coined at different places, and at different times, yet all of the same weight, conceived from thence such an advantageous idea of the Roman honesty, that he sent an embassy to Rome ¶.

The expulsion of Hyppias the son of Pythistratus, was owing in a great measure to his tricks with the coin, obliging the Athenians to bring in their old silver, at a certain price, and coining new**.

* Knap. Voy. p. xxiv. 229.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. vi. p. 113.

‡ Bundy's Roman Hist. vol. i. p. 130, with the notes.

§ An. Un. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 56.

|| Bund. Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 500. Perhaps the oracle meant just to the public.

¶ An. Un. Hist. vol. xx. p. 302.

** An. Un. Hist. vol. vi. p. 355.

Coinage.

The affair of the mint, was a point which still disturbed the public order in most kingdoms of Europe, as well as the peace and prosperity of private families. Each lord struck his own coin, altered the standard and weight at will, doing a lasting prejudice to himself, for a transitory advantage. The crowned heads indeed, had been obliged to set the fatal example. The gold coin of one part of Europe, and especially of France, had been consumed by the misfortunes of the Crusades. They were therefore obliged, as new wants incessantly pressed them, to increase the numerical value of money. When Charles V. reconquered his kingdom, the livre was worth seven numerical livres, for under Charlemagne, it had the real weight of a livre or pound. Hence, the livre under Charles V. was only 1-7th of the ancient livre; consequently a family whose whole subsistence depended on an ancient payment in money, was become seven times poorer; indeed much poorer, considering the increased price of every article. But Voltaire forgets, if the receiver was poorer, the payer was richer, and consequently it made the king poorer, and his vassals richer. Besides pure gold, &c. is an improper coin, it should have some alloy.

As a proof of the scarcity of coin in France, it has been said, that Charles V. decreed, that the king's younger children, should have an appanage of 12,000 livres a year, or 180,000 modern livres, a small provision for a king's son.

Philip not only raised the fictitious and ideal value of specie, but he ordered some to be coined that had too much alloy. In short it was counterfeit coin. And the disturbances which this operation occasioned, did not render the nation more happy. Philip of Valois went farther, for he made the Officers of the mint swear, that they would keep the secret. In his ordinance he enjoins them to deceive the merchants, *in such a manner*, that they may not perceive there has been any alteration in the weight. But how could he flatter himself that this fraud should remain undiscovered? and what sad times must those have been, when they were obliged to have recourse to such artifices? what sad times, when all the feudal lords, since the reign of St. Lewis, did the very thing for which Philip the fair, and Philip of Valois, are so greatly condemned. In France, these lords sold their right of coinage to the sovereign. In Germany they have preserved it, from whence very great abuses, though not so general, nor so fatal, frequently arise*.

Paper Money.

The celebrated Raynal, has thrown out, in his works, a number of ingenious observations upon this subject, which merit to be thoroughly considered†. He has well described in particular, the two principal sorts of paper currency: the first of which, has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade, and industry; the other owes its existence to the necessities of the state.

As to the advantages of paper money, see Voltaire's dialogue between a philosopher and a comptroller general of the finances. Bank notes in a government, may be compared to cranes in a quarry, they serve to raise weights, which a number of men could not stir by the strength of their arms; and they resemble wheels, from facilitating transportation.

* An. Un. Hist. vol. ii. part 1. p. 17 and 18. chap. 3.

† See vol. iv. book 16. p. 82 and 114, &c. book 18. p. 318, &c.

7. *Tolls and Passage Taxes.*

Among the other lucrative prerogatives connected with commerce, may be enumerated, the right which the public claims to highways, navigable rivers, and straits, and to certain duties arising therefrom.

Passage taxes are supposed to be the most ancient of any invented, at least it is said, that the kings of Egypt exacted a passage tax from those who were buried in an island situated in the famous lake Mæris. This tax was first proposed, or levied by one Charon, and hence the Græcian fables relative to him*.

Another ancient passage tax recorded in history, was exacted by Nessus, the Centaur, killed by Hercules, who demanded a tax from those who crossed the river Euenus†.

When an army passes through the territories of a foreign state, it is with great propriety obliged to pay a tax; for the privilege of marching an army even the best disciplined, is too apt to occasion damage to those places through which they pass; at any rate, the subjects of one state cannot be entitled to pass armed through the territories of another, without a positive agreement.

Xerxes is said to have bought a passage for his troops from the Triballi or Trallians, a nation of Thrace, but Agesilaus refused to pay them any thing, and when they opposed his march, he defeated them. Their demand was singular, being 100 talents of silver and as many women‡.

Sertorius, after Sylla's success in Italy, being obliged to fly to Spain, when he came to the mountains adjoining to that country, the barbarians who inhabited them, insisted upon his paying toll, and purchasing his passage from them. Those that attended him were fired with indignation, and thought it an unsufferable thing for a Roman pro-consul, to pay toll to such a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the seeming disgrace, and having promised to satisfy the demands of the mountaineers, he added "time was the thing he purchased, than which, nothing could be more precious to a man engaged in great attempts§."

The fovereign is also generally reckoned the proprietor of all highways, which Mausolus king of Caria, carried to such an extent, that he claimed the property of all the fruit that hung over any part of the public roads||.

Pertinax abolished all the taxes which had been levied by the Roman tyrants, at the banks of rivers, the gates of cities, and through the public roads; and restored them to their former liberty¶.

Mr. Henry Maundrel informs us, in his travels, that he frequently paid a tax called *Caphar*, which was collected at several different passes, to keep the roads in repair, and to guard them from the incursions of robbers. These duties were first set on foot by the Christians, and the Turks took care, in this respect, to imitate their example, and to demand from the Franks who pass that way most unreasonably**.

Canute went to Rome, and procured this privilege from the Pope and the Emperor, that when the English or Danes travelled through their territories, either for trade or devotion, that they should be free from all taxes and vexations††.

* An. Un. Hist. vol. i. p. 451.

† Diod. Siculus, l. iv. c. ii. p. 146.

‡ Plut. vol. iv. p. 83.

§ Plut. vol. iv. p. 8.

|| Wanley's Hist. of Man, b. 4. c. 33. Pet. Greg. De Rep. lib. iii. c. 6. p. 5.

¶ Xiphil. in Herod. l. ii. c. 15. p. 65.

** Mod. Trav. vol. i. p. 3. a Caphar again demanded, Ditto p. 12. Another, p. 21.

†† Bayle's Dict. vol. i. p. 331. Voce, Agilnoth.

There are certain passes in the mountains of Abyssinia, where all commodities pay a duty, but in general they have been given to great men, with the lands in which they are situated, excepting that of Lamalmon, which the emperor keeps for himself, and which yields him the value of 100 oqueases a year *.

A similar tax, to that which is levied at the Sound, by the king of Denmark, was formerly exacted by the inhabitants of Byzantium. They were compelled to pay a yearly tribute of 80 talents to the Gauls, in order to raise which sum, they laid a tax on all the ships that passed what are now called the Straits of Constantinople, and traded to the Pontic sea †.

Prusias, king of Bythinia, joined the Rhodians to compel the Byzantines, to forbear levying this toll, which accordingly they were obliged to do ‡.

It has been proposed, that a similar duty should be levied at the entrance into the Mediterranean by the Sovereign possessing Gibraltar.

The Athenians having built Chrysopolis, near Chalcidon, they exacted 1-10th part of the value of all the shipping that passed that way from Pontus §.

The passage at Elfsneur, is not quite a league over, but on the Swedish shore, the water is very shallow. Near the small town of Elfsneur, the castle of Cronenburg is situated, before which, all the trading ships which enter in, or go out of the Baltic, must lower their sails, and pay a tribute to the crown of Denmark. The amount is more or less, in proportion to the value of their respective cargoes ||.

Eric, the son of the famous Margaret, with a view of checking the growing power of the Hanse Towns, built the famous fortress at Elfsneur, which was as a key to the passage of the Sound, that joined the Baltic sea to the ocean, and was the principal channel through which they drew their riches. Eric opened and shut this passage at his pleasure, and afterwards demanded a tribute of every merchant ship which came into, or went out of the Baltic ¶.

Voltaire in his Age of Lewis XIV. insinuates, that by the peace of Nimeguen, Denmark was obliged to lower the toll duties, in the Baltic sea, 8th April, 1678, chap. CLXXVII.

See as to a canal made in Sweden about the year 1736, to enable ships to go from the ocean to the Baltic sea, without passing the Sound.

Taxes on Travelling.

Formerly in Holland, they laid a tax upon all those who travelled in that country, whether in the transcoats, in a coach, in a waggon, or on horseback, which was then thought to be very oppressive, and disgusting by all ranks of people; but in the last war they had with France, this tax was made perpetual, and is now become a part of the provincial revenue **.

* Knapton's Voyages as to Abyssinia.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. viii. p. 185.

‡ Ditto, p. 187. Arbuthnot, p. 243.

§ Diodorus Sic. l. xiii. c. 8. p. 331.

|| Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 146.

¶ Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 220 and 221. See also ditto p. 238. as to the Treaty, an. 1490, by which the English agreed to pay this tax.

** Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 132.

Passage Taxes in Holland.

The passage duties upon the rivers Rhine, and Maase, are of great use to the Dutch; for it enables them to lay a tax, not only upon the goods consumed by themselves, but also upon all the foreign trade and commerce of all the Western part of Germany*.

8. Port, Light-House, and Convoy Duties.

When the government of a country for the safety or accommodation of its subjects, or the improvement of their commerce, either erects safe harbours or light-houses, or undertakes, in time of war, to convoy the goods and ships of its merchants in safety, it naturally demands some taxes for the defraying the expense resulting therefrom. This, if not exorbitant in point of amount, can hardly be objected to, in point of principle; for the parties who are subjected to the impost, are indemnified by the benefits they receive. Without going to foreign countries, the exaction of these duties may be exemplified at home, and in fact, how can the public income of a country be better expended than in making substantial improvements, more especially if a Revenue can be drawn, that will either repay the principal, or pay a fair interest for the money expended. Then the prosperity of a country is established on sure foundations, and goes on encreasing, at the rate of compound interest, and indeed with strides which it is hardly possible to calculate.

CHAP. VII.

Rights as the Guardian of Morals.

This branch of Revenue, may be considered under two general heads, namely, 1. Sumptuary Taxes, and 2. Taxes on Public Entertainments.

1. Sumptuary Taxes.

Condalus, lieutenant to Mausolus, king of Caria, feigned an edict from the king, that the Lycians, who rejoiced and delighted much in their long hair, should have it cut off, unless every man should redeem his, at a certain rate imposed by him at pleasure†.

Cato's famous tax on dress, furniture, &c. was a kind of sumptuary law. It appears from thence, that the ladies began pretty early, even at Rome, to be extravagant. This rigid censor therefore enacted, that women's wearing apparel, ornaments, &c. exceeding in value 1500 drachmas, I believe about 12*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* should pay one and a half per cent. or 30 shillings in the 100*l.* Every one must perceive, unless it was intended as a sumptuary law, that such a tax was injudicious, and very difficult properly to levy; as it is said, that all

* See Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 126.

† Petr. Greg. de Repub. l. iii. c. 6. p. 57. Wanley's Hist. of Man. b. iv. c. 33. Aristotle, Econom. lib. ii. Bayle's Dict. vol. vii. p. 494. note B. See also a Revenue Trick of Mausolus, note E. in fine.

taxes were abrogated, after the conquest of Macedon, it is therefore probable, that this was at the same time abolished *.

Julius Cæsar discharged the use of litters, of scarlet cloths, and of pearls, unless to certain persons and ages, and on certain days. Casaubon says, that none but senators, and such as were in some high office, were allowed the use of the *corchiliata vestes*. The use of litters and pearls were allowed, as Eusebius reports in his Chronicle, only to such women as had husbands or children, or were above 55 years of age. Cæsar was particularly strict in his sumptuary laws, inasmuch that he placed guards about the flesh market, to stop, and to carry to him, all prohibited provisions, and sometimes sent licitors and soldiers, to carry away from the very tables of the purchasers, such prohibited provisions as had escaped the observations of the guards †.

It appeared necessary, that the Russians, should not be dressed in a different manner from those who were teaching them the arts and sciences; because the aversion to strangers, which is but too natural to mankind, is not a little kept up by a difference of dress. Peter the Great, therefore, was obliged to lay a tax upon beards and long coats ‡.

Heavy taxes, says Rousseau, should be laid on livery servants, equipages, rich furniture, palaces, and public entertainments, idle professions, as players, dancers, &c. these are things, which if not seen would be entirely useless, and are never concealed, as their only use is to be exposed to view. While there are rich people, they will distinguish themselves from the poor, and the state cannot procure itself a less burthen some or more certain revenue, than from this distinction, or in other words, by taxing the usual marks that distinguish the opulent from the needy §.

The government of every state, it is contended by some, has a right to prohibit the use of coaches, it can therefore, with the greatest propriety, lay a tax upon coaches, a wise and useful method of blunting their use, without entirely putting a stop to them. In this case, the tax may be looked on as a kind of penalty, the produce of which makes amends for the abuse it permits. On the same principle, governments may permit, the use of other things, such as foreign wine, and other luxurious productions, upon paying a duty ||.

Charles XII. in his necessity, was obliged to lay a tax on all such as had any mixture of silk in their clothes, or wore periwigs, or gilded swords ¶.

To restrain luxury, says Voltaire, in a kingdom abounding with manufactures, is to put a check upon industry, and the circulation of money; and this ought never to be done in any country, unless its inhabitants pay foreigners for the articles of luxury they consume **.

* See Pliny, lib. 9. c. 15. Roll. Rom. Hist. vol. vii. p. 380, &c. Plutarch gives a different account of this tax, in his Life of Cato, vol. ii. p. 276 and 277.

† Suet. in Jul. Cæs. cap. 43. Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 24. Swifts Sumptuary Laws. See Account of Switzerland, cap. viii. p. 166. See particularly Aul. Gell. lib. 15. c. viii. Alex. ab Alexand. l. iii. c. 11. vol. i. p. 678. See do vol. ii p. 273. l. 5. c. 21. See Reub. of Letters vol. xx. p. 108. Bayle's Dict. vol. v. p. 176. note B. voce Fannius, Strabo Cæsar.

‡ See Volt. Hist. of the Russ. Emp. chap. x. an. 1698.

§ Thoughts on Different Subjects, &c. by Rousseau.

|| This reasoning is not just. In great towns, coaches are at least convenient if not necessary. In long and coaches are taxed as a mark of opulence, on the maxim, that every one should pay according to his abilities.

¶ See Voltaire's History of him. B. 8.

** Volt. Add. to Gen. Hist. vol. viii. c. 202. voce (Finances).

No tax can be better laid on, than upon such obstinate people, as will not obey the laws in renouncing ridiculous customs. Peter the Great, wishing to civilize his subjects, in order to make them like other people, ordered them to shave their beards, and laid a tax upon those who would not. Gentlemen, merchants, and others, were taxed 100 rubles; peasants, a copick. The priests were exempted*.

The nobility of the Northern Belgæ were distinguished from the commons by their beards†.

Clemens of Alexandria says, that shaving the beard is a heinous crime, because it is a distinction of sex and because the hairs of our head are all numbered‡.

The chiefs, in the Society Isles, value themselves on having long nails, on all, or at least, on some of their fingers; as an evident proof† that they are not obliged to work, which would soon deprive them of this distinguishing mark of their pre-eminence; they are however very careful in keeping these long nails clean, and free from any impurity§.

The nails of the people of quality at Tahitee and the neighbourhood, are of a great length, so that sometimes the part standing beyond the finger, is equal to one of the joints. The dancing girls, (who are always persons of quality), have also very long nails; and this custom is likewise common among the women of the gold coast in Africa||.

The Mandarin in China, carefully preserve their long nails, as a proof or mark of their nobility and rank; and keep on purpose, small cases of bamboo over them during the night, to prevent accidents¶.

In Siam the dancing girls make use of false long nails, made of brass, in order to come up to this fashion**.

At Maghindana, (commonly called Mindanao) the nails of the thumb on the left hand are never cut; and the people in Java are said to wear long hair, and long nails††.

All these might be a source of revenue.

Alia or Dice, Isidorus says, were invented by a soldier named *Alia*, in the Grecian army, to divert himself at leisure hours, during the siege of Troy ‡‡.

Public Entertainments.

The Lydians were the first that invented public sports and shews, which were therefore called *Ludi* by the Romans, who borrowed them from the Tuscans, originally descended in the following manner, from the Lydians. During the reign of Alyx, king of Lydia, a famine prevailed for several years over the whole kingdom, which the inhabitants endured with astonishing patience; but the scarcity continuing, to divert their minds from the consideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themselves to all manner of diversions, and some inventing one game, and others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls,

* See D'Arnav's Life of the R. p. 248.

† Rep. of Letters, vol. i. p. 10. Art. 1.

‡ Repub. of Letters, vol. i. p. 463. Art. 30. Vide B. Dict. vol. viii. p. 677. (Andw. Eberhard) Rauber, an account of his famous beard, for which he would have paid a good tax. See note H. See particularly as to the Russian beards, Williams's North. Goverp. vol. ii. p. 312. See also Voltaire's Anecdotes of Peter the Great, before his History of Charles XII. the fine for wearing a beard was equal to 40 sous French. The people chose rather to part with their beards than their money. The women assisted this reformation, &c.

§ Foster's Observat. made during a Voyage round the World, p. 271.

|| Prevot. Hist. des Voyages, tom. iv.

¶ Osbeck's Voyage to China, vol. i. p. 270.

** De La Louhere's Voyage.

†† Voyages faits pour l'Établissement des la Compagnie des Indes Orientales (Amsterdam 1702) vol. i. p. 192. See Foster, p. 593.

‡‡ August. Hist. vol. ii. p. 741. lld. l. xviii. Orig.

and all the other games of antiquity, chess only excepted. They feasted one day, and fasted the next, amusing themselves with the games they had invented. But their calamities encreasing, it was found necessary to divide the nation into two great bodies, one of which, as was determined by lot, was to remain at home, and the other to go in search of new habitations. Pyrrheneus commanded those who were sent abroad, and landing in Italy, they settled in Umbria, now called Tuscany *.

It appears from Grey's debates, that in the committee of ways and means it was resolved, that every person going to the boxes of the theatre, should pay one shilling; into the pit, sixpence; and into the galleries, three pence. This was not agreed to by the house, and the discussions which took place upon that occasion, gave rise to the famous Coventry act.

During lord North's administration also, an attempt was made, to tax admissions into the theatres, and other places of public entertainment, but it was given up.

CHAP. VIII.

Of a Public Revenue, derived from Prerogatives connected with Religion.

In every country, the care and superintendence of religion, is a matter of the most essential importance, and in some it is a source of revenue. This may be the case, 1. where the sovereign enjoys the temporal, as well as the spiritual power of the state; 2. where these two powers are separated, for instance, with regard to the pope of Rome, and the Lama of Thibet; and 3. where the powers enjoyed by the spiritual, are delegated to the temporal sovereign.

1. *Where there is the Union of the Spiritual and Temporal Powers.*

Since the reformation, this union has taken place in England, and ever since that era, the crown has either enjoyed itself, or granted to others, the following branches of the revenue:

Custody of the Temporalities of the Bishops.

This branch of the royal revenue of England, consists of a right which the sovereign has, to the custody of the temporalities of bishoprics, until such time as a successor is appointed, with the power of taking all the intermediate profits to himself.

Right of Corody.

Another branch of the royal revenue of England, is a right which the king enjoys, to send one of his chaplains to be maintained by the bishop, or to have a pension allowed him until he is promoted to a benefice.

* Herodot. l. i. c. 93, 94. An. Un. Hist. vol. vi. p. 214.—Playing cards taxed in Poland. See Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. part. 6. c. i. p. 10. Spanish Gaming.

Right to Extra-Parochial Tythes.

The clergy, considering themselves entitled to tythes, both by divine and human laws, it was necessary to determine what should be done with tythes that were not included in any particular parish, and had no *parson* or ecclesiastical person, by whom they could be levied. By the laws of England, they are given to the crown, but they are held (says Blackstone*) under an implied trust that the king should distribute them for the good of the clergy in general†.

First-Fruits, and Tenths.

These were original taxes paid by the clergy of England, to the pope, and afterwards annexed to the crown, when the Roman catholic religion was expelled from England. This revenue, is at present employed in the augmentation of poor livings.

2. Where the Spiritual and Temporal Powers are separated.

This was an ancient, as well as modern source of revenue, for the Carthaginians sent to the Tyrian Hercules, the first fruits of their revenues, and the tenth of their spoils‡.

Pope Gregory IX. obtained a 20th part of the ecclesiastical revenues in France, and a 5th part of those in England, for carrying on a crusade against the Emperor§.

It was a scandal, says Voltaire, to pay a sum of money to an Italian prince, for the privilege of enjoying a benefice in Germany or France. This kind of traffic, seems to stamp a kind of infamy upon religion. If this money was exacted in the light of a tribute, it was not to be suffered; if only as a charitable donation, it was too much||.

Voltaire states, that according to Matt. Paris, the pope's nuncio raised at one time in England, 50,000*l.* sterling! A prodigious sum in those days. "To see the English at present," says the same author, "one would not have supposed that their ancestors could have been so weak¶."

The taxes levied in the Roman chancery, for indulgences, &c. may be quoted as the most extraordinary instance of religious exactions recorded in history**.

This strange abuse seems to have been derived from the ancient laws of the Franks, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and other European nations. The papal court had not adopted this estimate of sins and dispensations till the times of anarchy, when the popes durst no longer reside at Rome. Never did any council rank the taxation among the articles of faith. This public and private sale of indulgences, gave great scandal. That apostolic revenue unlimited and uncertain before the time of pope John XXII. was by him, digested into a code of the canon law. A deacon or sub-deacon guilty of murder, was absolved

* Vol. i. p. 284.

† See Candler's Debates of the House of Commons, Anno 1620. p. 115, and particularly 116, as to a patent for concealed tythes, also, p. 191 and 196.

‡ An. Un. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 281, 282, and 335.

§ See Volt. Annals of the Empire, anno 1240.

|| Vol. iv. c. 117, of the Religion of France, during the reign of Francis I.

¶ Ad'itions to the General Hist. vol. ii. c. 49.

** Bayle's Dict. vol. viii. p. 414. (Anthony Du Pinet.)

with a permission to hold three benefices for about 20 crowns. A bishop or abbot might assassinate for about 300 livres. All kinds of uncleanness, even the most shocking to nature, had its settled price. Bestiality was valued at 250 livres. Dispensations were granted not only for past sins, but for such, as one had a mind to commit *.

The origin of the reformation was this; Leo X. under the pretence of a war against the Turks, but in fact with a view of replenishing his own coffers, and of completing such an expensive undertaking, set up a sale, in all parts of Christendom, of what are called *indulgences*; that is a release from the pains of purgatory, either to the guilty person, or his friends and relations. A public sale of this sort, shews the spirit of the times. It created no sort of surprize. Public offices of indulgences were opened in all parts, and they were farmed and leased out like Custom-house duties. Most of those public offices were kept in ale houses, by which means, the preacher, the farmer, and the distributor of the indulgences, were all gainers. The pope gave part of this money to his sister, and no one complained. Though the preachers declared openly from the pulpit, that even if they were to ravish the virgin Mary, they should be forgiven, upon purchasing the indulgences, and the people listened to those words with devotion. But this farm in Germany, having been given to the Dominicans, the Augustines, who had been long in the possession of it, grew jealous; and Luther, an Augustine friar, was gradually led to think on and establish the reformation.

In the archives of Sainville, they found an indulgence granted to the cardinal of Lorrain, and to twelve of his retinue, whereby the remission of three sins, which ever they chose to nominate, should be anticipated to each of them. La Laboureur, a diligent writer, relates of the duchess of Burgundy and Auvergne, sister to Charles VIII. that she had the privilege of obtaining absolution all her life, from all her sins, she and ten attendants, upon 47 festivals, without reckoning Sundays.

3. Powers enjoyed by the Spiritual, but delegated to the Temporal Sovereign.

The Pope not only thought himself entitled to tax the subjects of other states, but also to assign to particular sovereigns, the right of fleecing their own people, under the pretence of religion; and by this means, Spain has contrived to draw a considerable revenue from its subjects in America.

In the same manner, the empress queen obtained a bull from the pope, for levying the tenth penny, on all ecclesiastical livings throughout her Italian dominions †.

Charles V. obtained a bull, for levying the half of one year's revenue belonging to the ecclesiastical benefices in Spain. Nay he was allowed to alienate monasterial possessions, to the amount of 500,000 crowns ‡.

* Volt. Gen. Hist. and State of Europe, in English. London, printed an. 1754, 3 vols.

† See Voltaire's War, 1741. chap. v.

‡ See Voltaire's Annals of the Empire, anno 1546.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of Contributions in general, more especially of Voluntary Aids.

THE expences of a government, must necessarily increase, with the population and the opulence of its subjects. It is evident that the same number of magistrates, and the same charges, whether of a civil or a military, of a judicial or a religious nature, which were adequate to the expenditure of a small society, on a narrow scale, will not be sufficient for one that has become populous, wealthy, and powerful; and indeed that the same sum of money, which might suffice in the impoverished circumstances of early societies, will not go the same length, nor will it purchase the same number of articles, when money becomes more abundant, and consequently less efficacious. This defalcation of the public revenue also happens at a time, when it is hardly possible for the government of a state, to procure any addition to the property with which it was originally invested; every part of the territory and wealth of the country, being quickly occupied by individuals. Thus the first source of revenue is foreclosed. In regard to the second, namely, such lucrative prerogatives as may be entrusted to government, they are either incapable of furnishing a sufficient supply, or perhaps at an earlier period of society, they have not been discovered. It therefore becomes necessary to encroach on the property, and to diminish the income of individuals; or, in other words, either by voluntary contribution, or through the medium of taxation, the government of a country, must share in the wealth which has been acquired, or the income that is enjoyed, by the labour and industry of its subjects.

There is in general, however, so much public spirit, in a country placed in that predicament, that its inhabitants are usually well disposed to furnish what may be necessary, on any important public exigency, not by taxes, but by voluntary contributions. It is pleasing to see, in the history of mankind, various instances of such public spirit; and in fact, such voluntary contributions, are the legitimate parents of taxation.

This general head, namely, *Voluntary Contributions, as a Source of Public Revenue*, may be considered under the following distinct divisions, namely, 1. Voluntary Contributions by Citizens, in Time of Peace. 2. Ditto in Time of War. 3. Gifts from Strangers, in Time of Public Disaster. 4. Gifts from Ditto in Time of War. 5. Donations to Government by Will, either by Citizens, or Strangers.

1. *Voluntary Contributions by Citizens in Time of Peace.*

One of the first instances recorded in history, of voluntary taxation, is that mentioned in scripture, which took place, anno mundi 2514, and an. 1491, before Christ. It was a contribution consisting of gold, silver, brass, fine linen, oil, spices, &c. Every man strove to outdo his neighbour in what he contributed, so that it was found necessary to restrain the zeal of the people. This

voluntary tax produced 29 talents of gold, and 730 shekels, besides a variety of other presents, such as 70 talents of brass, 2,400 shekels. The gold is calculated by bishop Cumberland to amount to 147,204*l.* 10*s.* sterling *.

It is here proper to observe the arts of rulers. The Romans were freed from personal taxes for many years after the conquest of Macedon. It was in the reign of Galerius, that they were first subjected to those taxes again. But as the tamest subjects have sometimes ventured to resist an unprecedented invasion on their property, they threw off the yoke of Galerius, and chose Maximian emperor. He oppressed them by the invention of *free gifts*, the consequence of which was, that they looked up to Constantine for relief, whilst he, having vanquished the tyrant, proved a greater tyrant himself, and converted what was before only a *free gift* into a perpetual tax †.

The east was always famous for the presents, or voluntary contributions given by subjects to their sovereign. Herodotus says, that Cyrus and Cambyzes laid on no imposts; the people offering presents, or *voluntarily contributing* what was necessary; and that Darius the son of Hystaspes was the first king of Persia, who levied taxes upon his subjects, and thence got the nick-name of *the merchant* ‡. Plutarch, in his Greek Apophthegms, says, that when Darius first taxed his subjects, he asked the governors of his provinces if the imposts were heavy; being answered in the negative, he remitted one half §.

We are told, that Solomon reigned over all the kingdoms, from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt. *They brought presents*, and served Solomon all the days of his life ||.

Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, endeavoured to qualify the harshness of things, by giving them softer and politer names. Thus prisons, he called castles, and taxes or tributes, *contributions*, and the like ¶.

Doctor Forster ascribes the superior opulence of the sovereign, and the chiefs of Tahiti to voluntary contributions. The beginning of civil society, he very justly observes must be founded on paternal authority, and is of the patriarchal kind. If several families find the wisdom, experience, valour and benevolence of one head of a family, to be superior to the rest, they look upon him as their common father; and his counsel becomes sacred and inviolable laws. If the son of this chief has skill, address, and benevolence enough to tread in his father's footsteps, he succeeds his father in authority. As all the regulations for the weal of the society are issued by this ruler, as he is foremost in defending their liberty and property, against any daring invader of their common right, as he decides between man and man in private disagreements, and punishes the wanton disturbers of public peace; all the authority of the whole community centers in him, and many advantages accrue to him on different occasions. Opportunities also offer of making acquisitions of property, either by the voluntary general contributions of all the inferior members of the community, or by the administration and distribution of the public property and wealth. It may be expected therefore that he will in process of time become possessed of a greater share of wealth than any of the rest **.

* Exodus, c. xiv. v. 2. c. xxv. v. 5. and c. xxxvi. v. 5. Also Saurin's Dif. vol. i. p. 491 and 494. Arbuthnot p. 39. See also 1 Chron. c. xxix. v. 6. as the great voluntary contributions given by the Jews for the building of the temple, 5000 talents, and 15,000 drachms of gold, 10,000 talents of silver, 18,000 of brass, and 100,000 of iron. Also Numbers xxxi. v. 50, 54, regarding a voluntary offering of five talents.

† Gibbon, p. 467. 430. p. 161, 390.

‡ Lib. iii. c. 8. Strabo, l. xv. p. 850. affirms the same thing.

§ Polyænus l. vii. c. xi. states the same, and the stratagem made use of to prevent the murmurs of the people. See Saurin's Dif. vol. iv. p. 7. Esther, x. v. 1.

|| 1 Kings, c. iv. v. 21.

¶ Plut. Lives, vol. i. p. 215.

** Forster, p. 349, 352, 353.

In former times, the revenue of the princes of the Low Countries, greatly arose from voluntary contributions, principally granted through the assemblies of the people at large, or, in particular cities, either according to the necessities of the prince, or in proportion as they were esteemed by their subjects*.

The tributes paid to the native Irish monarchs were properly *benevolences* or *voluntary contributions* of cattle, &c. granted in return for the benefits of their laws, and the benedictions of their clergy †.

The Czar Peter resolving to create a navy at Asoph, demanded contributions from the principal nobility, the richest merchants, and even the patriarchs, bishops, and clergy, to equip the armament for the honour of their country, and for the advantage of christianity ‡.

Robertson well observes, in confirmation of the above doctrine, that the first step towards taxation, was, to ascertain the value of *gifts*, which were originally, gratuitous; and indeed all such aids as were granted to monarchs, were at first called *benevolences* or *free gifts* §.

2. Voluntary Contributions by Citizens in Time of War.

Voluntary contributions, in time of war, may consist, either of personal services, or of money.

A remarkable example of personal service in war, *voluntarily contributed*, is in the instance of the Fabii, when they were destroyed at Cremira ||.

The spirit of the Romans was never more conspicuous, than amidst their greatest misfortunes. After many fleets had been destroyed, they at last resolved to fit one out by voluntary contribution, the treasury being too much exhausted to do it out of the public funds. But the zeal of private persons supplied the defects of the exchequer, and in a little time 200 quinqueresmes were built, with which fleet, Lutatius Catullus totally defeated the Carthaginians, and finished the first Punic war. The public became bound to pay, when it was able, what private persons had thus so liberally contributed ¶, nor was this the only instance of the sort in the history of Rome.

It appears, that many of the Roman cities and provinces *voluntarily taxed themselves*, to furnish Scipio Africanus with the necessary supplies for going to Africa, to fit out that expedition on which depended the fate, not only of Rome and of Carthage, but of the civilized world in general, in ancient times **.

When the public necessities were very great, instead of laying on additional taxes, the senate in general ordered a voluntary subscription to be opened, in which case, the liberality and affection of the citizens, supplied the wants of the republic more amply than could have been done by any authority or compulsion that could have been employed ††.

* Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 8. and Voltaire in his *Annals of the Empire*, anno 3539, observes, "that the sovereign of the Low Countries received free gifts."

† See Leland's *Hist. of Ireland*, discourse, p. 31, 32.

‡ See Williams's North. Govern. vol. ii. p. 101.

§ Hist. Charles V. vol. i. p. 361. note p. 37. See also vol. iii. p. 267. There are many curious observations on this subject in the note 37.

|| Bundy's Roman History, vol. i. p. 350. An. Un. Hist. vol. xi. p. 435, 438. Another instance is in the case of Coriolanus, do. p. 296.

¶ Bundy's Roman Hist. vol. i. p. 615. An. Un. Hist. vol. xii. p. 203.

** Plut. vol. ii. p. 93. note. Voluntary contributions were also paid by the Patricians at Rome, Bund. Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 426. and were also raised in Italy against Antony, Midd. Cicero, vol. iii. p. 121.

†† See a famous instance of this, Liv. l. xxvi. c. 36.

A public spirit of the same kind generally diffused itself likewise from the city to the very camp, insomuch that many of the knights and centurions refused to accept of pay, and reproached such as did it with the name of mercenary*.

When Perſes made war upon the Romans, the principal cities of Macedon voluntarily contributed, men, money, and provisions, for carrying on the war; which offer, except carriages for the baggage, was refused †.

The cities in Asia so much detested the Roman government, that they voluntarily contributed to defray Mithridates's expences in the war, and such sums were given him voluntarily, that for five years he maintained large armies without levying any taxes upon his subjects ‡.

Germany, in the time of Rodolphus was so poorly governed, that it was necessary to make a public collection to oppose the Mahometan conquerors, and a box was put up at the gate of every church, for receiving contributions. This is the first war, (says Voltaire,) that was ever carried on by voluntary contribution. But in this, as appears from the preceding facts, he was greatly mistaken §.

In a former part of this work ||, an account was given of the voluntary contributions which took place, in the reign of Elizabeth, when the country was threatened by what was proudly termed by Spain, an *Invincible Armada*; and in the war which was terminated by the treaty of Amiens, the payment of voluntary contributions was sanctioned by act of Parliament, and produced very considerable sums.

But one of the most remarkable instances of such contributions, was in the reign of Charles I. of England, when the parliament declared war against that monarch. On that occasion, an order was made by both houses of parliament, for bringing in of money and plate, to maintain horse and horsemen, and to furnish arms for the preservation of the public peace, and *the defence of the king's person*, (for the parliament, in their expressions, always joined that together with their own safety), and both houses of parliament, wherein it was declared, that whosoever should bring in any money or plate, or should furnish any horsemen and arms for that purpose, should have that money repaid with interest, according to eight in the hundred, for which both houses of parliament did engage the public faith.

Four treasurers were ordained, whose acquittances for the receipt of any sum should be a sufficient ground to the lenders to demand their money and plate again, with the interest belonging thereunto. The treasurers were Sir John Wollaston, knight, and alderman of London, alderman Towes, alderman Warner, and alderman Andrews. Commissaries also were appointed to value the horse and arms which should be furnished for the same purpose.

It was desired in that order, that all men resident in or about London, or within 80 miles thereof, would bring in their plate, money, or horse, within a fortnight after notice; and they that dwelt farther off, within three weeks; and that those who intended to contribute within the time limited, but were not, for the present, provided of money or horse, should subscribe, that it might be soon known what provision would be for the effecting of that great and important service; and in conclusion, it was declared, that whatsoever was brought in, should be employed to no other purposes but those before-men-

* Livy, l. xxvi. c. 36. l. xxiv. c. 18. Chapman's Rom. Senate, c. vi. p. 337 and 338.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 130, and 151.

‡ An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 551.

§ Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. iii. part vi. c. 2. p. 15. See also Volt. Annals of the Empire, anno 1594, as to this war, which, he says was supported by alms. See also ditto, Sect. of Germany, in the times of Joseph, and of Charles VI. as to the voluntary contributions of 34 cardinals.

|| Vol. i. p. 220.

tioned, the maintenance of the protestant religion, the king's person, dignity, and authority, the laws of the land, the peace of the kingdom and the privileges of parliament *.

The parliament at that time was thus enabled to raise forces, and to arm them well, by reason of the great mass of money and plate which was heaped up in Guildhall, and daily increased by the free contribution of those, that were well affected to the parliament cause, where not only the wealthiest citizens and gentlemen who were near dwellers, brought in their large bags and goblets, but the poorer sort, (like the widow in the gospel), presented their mites also, insomuch that it was the common jeer of men to call it "*the thimble and bodkin army.*"

It is said that the Thirteen Swiss Cantons had no fixed revenue, but taxed themselves by sending up to the treasury, voluntary contributions as the necessities of government might require; and when there was any surplus in the treasury, it was divided among the members of the canton †.

3. Gifts from Strangers in Time of Public Disaster.

Among the contributions of this description, the presents made to the island of Rhodes, after the destructive earthquakes with which it was afflicted, are amongst the most celebrated of those mentioned in history ‡.

Hiero, king of Syracuse, was particularly bountiful to the inhabitants of Rhodes, and it is also recorded that he sent to Ptolemy Philadelphus in a present, the largest vessel then known, with 300,000 quarters of corn; 100,000 great earthen jars of salt fish; 20,000 quintals § of salt meat, and other provisions.

In a former part of this work||, notice has been already taken, of the grant unanimously voted by the British parliament, of 100,000*l.* to the unfortunate persons who had suffered by the earthquake at Lisbon.

4. Gifts from Strangers in Time of War.

Hiero proved himself a warm friend to the Romans in the midst of their greatest calamities, having sent them in a present, a fleet laden with provisions, after they had been defeated at Thrasymenus, and had lost three battles. It consisted of 300,000 modii of wheat and 200,000 of barley ¶.

5. Donations to the Public by will, whether by Strangers, or Citizens.

Contributions by will have sometimes proved a considerable source of public revenue.

Of old, nothing was more common, than for kings to bequeath their crowns and their treasures by will.

Alexander king of Egypt, appointed by will, the Roman Commonwealth his heir, in consequence of which, Cato's commission against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, was carried into execution **.

* May's Hist. of the Parlt. of England, 1640. page 8^o, 84, 97.

† Account of Switzerland, p. 170, 174, also p. 214. as to voluntary contributions in the republic of the Grisons.

‡ Rollin's An. Hist. vol. vii. p. 494.

§ An. Un. Hist. vol. viii. p. 205.

|| Vol. ii. p. 68.

¶ An. Un. Hist. vol. viii. p. 102.

** See Bandy's Roman History, vol. vi. p. 85, and 106. As to the treasure he obtained, see Cato's Life in Plutarch. Melmoth's Cicero, vol. i. p. 427. The treasure amounted to 7000 talents, or 1,336,250*l.* An. Un. Hist. vol. viii. p. 258.

Appian king of Cyrene, left his kingdom by will, to the Romans, which accordingly they took possession of, though they dropt their pretensions to Egypt*.

Attalus king of Pergamus, left his kingdom by will to the Romans, which they accepted of †.

Bythinia was added to the Roman empire, by the will of Nicomedes ‡.

The most celebrated instance of a kingdom being left by will, in more recent times, was in the case of William the Conqueror, who claimed the crown of England from the will of Edward the Confessor: a point that has given rise to much controversy §.

During the imperial government of Rome, many individuals in that empire, left their fortunes by will to the emperor; and it was a considerable source of revenue. Augustus got in this manner, in the course of 20 years 1,400,000 sesterces, which, according to Casaubon, amounted to the astonishing sum of 3,500,000 crowns of gold. But Adrian would accept of no legacies from those who were unknown to him, nor from those who were known, if they had any children ||.

Caligula declared all wills void, in which he was not left something ¶, and Domitian seized any estate, if he could get any one to affirm, that the deceased had said, "*Cæsar is my heir* **."

Some instances are recorded in the English History, of sums of money being left *by will* to the public, and there is reason to believe, if such a system were encouraged, and the sums originally left, accumulated at compound interest, in the name of the donor, that no inconsiderable portion of our public incumbrances, would thus, in process of time, be discharged.

CHAP. II.

Of Taxes in General ††.

There is no branch of the art of government, that is attended with more difficulty, than how to take out of the pockets of individuals, the sums that may be necessary for the exigencies of the state, without disabling the persons who contribute, from enjoying all the necessaries and conveniences of life, for the purpose of procuring which, they either originally entered into society, or afterwards continued in it. It is necessary however, that individuals should contribute in proportion to the blessings which they enjoy, and the property, in the possession of which they are protected.

But it would not be difficult in raising a public revenue from the property of individuals, were it possible to discover the real amount of what they possessed, or had they public spirit enough to give, by way of voluntary contribution, a fair proportion of their income.

Taxes, which must at last be resorted to, may be defined, "contributions legally exacted from individuals to defray the public expences." As they are in-

* An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 430. Cicero states his objections to any acquisition by will, in Rull. c. ii. See also An. Un. Hist. vol. ix. p. 426.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. x. p. 41, and 42, where the objections to this will are stated.

‡ An. Un. Hist. vol. x. p. 132.

§ See Bacon's Selden, p. i. c. 44. p. 78. Littleton's History, Hen. ii. vol. i. p. 6. p. 351, &c. There are also some curious particulars as to Edward the Confessor's will in the Republic of Letters, vol. v. p. 271. for April, 1730.

|| August. Hist. vol. i. p. 168.

¶ An. Un. Hist. v. xiv. p. 286.

** Quot. in Domit. cap. xii.

†† See some excellent observations on this subject, in Abbé Raynal, b. xvii. p. 457.

tended to supply the deficiencies of voluntary contributions, the first general principle on which taxation is founded is this, that it should resemble, as much as possible, voluntary aids.

Taxation is in some respect founded on the unfortunate suspicions which mankind entertain of each other; were it not for such suspicions, it would be much better for every individual to give upon oath, or in a solemn manner, the fair rate on his property, which he was bound to pay, by which means all the expence of levying taxes would be saved to the society in general.

The great extent of taxation is also founded on the avarice of rulers, who naturally imagine, that by a variety of taxes, they may contrive to draw money out of the pockets of their subjects in an imperceptible manner, and consequently to an extent which it would be dangerous to attempt in a manner more open and palpable.

Taxes, it has been well remarked, are certainly necessary. The best mode of raising them is the difficult point to ascertain. Arbitrary taxes are dangerous. Those which best facilitate labour and commerce are the fittest to be adopted *.

The various matters comprehended in this chapter, may be considered under the following general heads, namely, 1. Who have the right of imposing taxes. 2. On what axioms they ought to be founded. 3. Whence they are drawn. 4. What they should be paid in. 5. How they should be managed. 6. To what extent they may be carried. 7. Who should be exempted from payment. 8. In what cases taxes should be remitted. 9. What are the effects of extortion. And 10. What are the various sorts of taxes which may be exacted.

1. *Who have the Right of imposing Taxes.*

As the right of property is one of the most valuable that a man can be possessed of, it is evident that it ought not to be encroached upon, without proper authority, and for very salutary purposes.

By some, the powers and the rights of kings to tax their subjects, is carried to a height the most exorbitant. Anaxarchus endeavoured to inspire Alexander the Great with the highest ideas of the powers of a monarch. "King," says he, you are absolute, it is in your power to ruin your subjects, by the "severest exactions, and to satisfy your own ambition and luxury at their expence." And when Louis XI. of France, was touched with the miseries of his subjects, his more barbarous minister remarked, "that they ought to reckon themselves happy, since they were not reduced to live upon grass." Many courtly sycophants would wish to found the usurpations of kings upon the authority of scripture, particularly upon 1 Sam. viii. v. 13. but without foundation. For in the first place it is to be remarked, that the Israelites demanded a king, "*such as ruled the neighbouring nations*," and therefore Samuel described not the real powers of a king, but the power and prerogative assumed by the neighbouring tyrants. In the second place, although he endeavoured to deter the Jews from throwing off the government of Jehovah, by painting the horrors of tyranny, yet care was taken, to confine the prerogative of the kings of the Jews within stricter bounds. From v. 8. the friends of tyranny would infer that a king had power to take any one's estate he chose; but this was not the case in Judea; for Ahab could not seize Naboth's vineyard †. In the third place, supposing this text explained the real authority of the Jewish kings, yet it is evident, that

* See Voltaire's Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Comptroller General of the Finances, in which there are some good observations on the subject of taxation.

† 1 Kings, c. xxi. v. 6, 7. Vide Sidney on Government, vol. ii. sect. 32.

the same violation of the laws of nature, which God permits in some instances, are not lawful in others. The Canaanites, for their impiety and idolatrous practices, were all extirpated by the command of God *. But it would have been the height of cruelty to treat nations, less culpable, in the same manner. The Jews were in like manner highly blamable in rejecting the government of God, he gave them therefore *kings in his wrath* †; and to punish their guilt and disobedience, might invest the kings of the Jews with tyrannical powers, without any idea of imposing terms equally rigorous on other people ‡. In the fourth place, it cannot be denied, that the scripture uniformly inculcates a spirit of moderation and charity, to those who have the government of states §. Kings are expressly forbid to multiply gold and silver, which Patrick observes, prohibits their oppressing their subjects with taxes. This Rehoboam attempted, whose treasurer they stoned ||.

It must be acknowledged, that there are some texts in scripture, which at first view seem favorable to monarchical exactions; "Render to all their due, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom ¶." But it may be remarked, that the question remains still undecided, for tribute is only to be paid *to whom it is due*, therefore it must be legally constituted.

In Romans xiii. 6, it is said "For this cause pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers, attending continually on this very thing." Dr. Campbell erroneously supposes this regards tribute in general. (See his Sermon, p. 52.) But this is a mistake; it only regards the tribute of half a shekel, which was paid to the temple of Jerusalem; and ** forbids Christians to conceal their being circumcised, or of Jewish origin, with a view probably, among other things, of avoiding this tax ††.

Bodinus asserts, that he was the first lawyer, who taught, that kings had no power to impose taxes without the people's consent ‡‡.

It is well known that in Turkey, no new tax can be imposed. This is founded on a treaty entered into between Mahomet and the Christians, whom he had subdued as early as the 4th year of the Hegira. By that treaty, Mahomet became bound to remove the grievances that the christians suffered, by reason of contributions and impositions, so that they shall pay nothing thereof, but of their own free will, and none shall trouble or molest them on account of refusing it §§.

In Pennsylvania, a majority of two-thirds was necessary before a tax could be imposed, hence it resembled more a *free gift* than a subsidy demanded by government |||.

* Exodus, c. xxiii. v. 24. c. xxxiv. v. 13. Deutro. c. vii. v. 5.

† Hosea, c. xiii. v. 11.

‡ See Sidney, vol. i. sect. ix. p. 280. Saurin, vol. ii. p. 386.

§ See Psalm lxxii. v. 12. Deut. c. xvii. v. 14. In Deut. c. xvii. v. 17.

¶ 1 King's, c. xii. v. 18.

¶¶ Rom. c. xiii. v. 7.

** Paul, 1 Corin. c. vii. v. 18.

†† As to the rights of kings to tax their subjects from scripture, see particularly John Hall's Grounds of Monarchies prefixed to Harrington's Works, p. 7. &c.

‡‡ See Bodin, Folio. p. 665. Bayle's Dict. vol. iii. p. 424. note (Bodinus.) See the curious anecdote of James I. and two bishops, as to the power of kings to tax their subjects, in Bayle's Dict. vol. i. p. 698. Voce Andrews (Launcelot) taken from the life of Walter the poet.

§§ The treaty of which the above is an extract, is taken from Du Ryer's Turkish Grammar, printed at Paris, anno 1633. See also Bayle's Dictionary, vol. i. p. 9. (Voce Abakakhan, note A.) Both Montesquieu, (Spirit of Laws b. xiii. c. 16.) and Hume in his Essays, seem to have been unacquainted with the existence of this treaty.

||| Raynal, vol. iv. b. xvii. p. 233,

2. *Axioms, as to Taxes.*

Taxes being properly voluntary contributions from the property of individuals legally exacted, it is evident, in the first place, that they ought to be in proportion to the property which each individual possesses. In short, they ought, in every respect, to resemble, as nearly as possible, whence they sprang, namely, *voluntary contributions*.

Taxes, in the next place, ought never to be imposed unless they are necessary. By some, taxes have been reckoned advantageous, as a means of exciting industry; but this reasoning is admirably refuted by Hume.

Taxes must also be proportioned to the means which the people have of paying them. For instance, in a poor country, where money is scarce, it is difficult to pay taxes, consequently few ought to be exacted. If a tax is laid upon land, the climate and the fertility of the soil must be considered; for it requires much less labour to raise any article of agricultural produce in a fruitful, than in a cold and barren country.

Equality is particularly to be attended to in taxation, "I mean not," says "Paul, (who was a better politician than is commonly supposed), that other men be eased; and you burdened, but that there may be equality."

3. *Whence Taxes are drawn.*

It is a curious subject of political speculation, to consider, whence taxes are ultimately drawn. Mr. Locke's well-known opinion is, that they must ultimately fall upon land. In this however he seems to be mistaken; for if, as he proposes, all taxes were to be laid upon land, the consequence would be, that the productions of the land would be increased in their price, by which means personal property would ultimately be affected.

The income of individuals, according to Adam Smith, must necessarily arise from rent, wages, or profit; and from either some one of these three sources of revenue, or from two or all of them put together, taxes must finally be paid.

4. *What Taxes should be paid in.*

As taxes are properly contributions paid by individuals, for the benefit of the state, it is evident, that they ought to be furnished in the manner the most likely to be useful to the public, without oppression to individuals.

Strabo informs us*, that the taxes or tributes exacted from the sea coasts of the Persian empire, were paid in money, but from the inland districts, in cattle, and other commodities. This is a very ingenious discrimination, as money is most likely to be abundant on the sea coasts, or where commerce flourished.

The Roman taxes were only received in the coin of the republic. Mæcenæ had even advised Augustus to allow no other coin to have any currency; but his counsel seems not to have been taken, as we find even in the temple of Jerusalem, bankers, who changed the different sorts of money that had currency in the empire, for the coin of the republic†.

5. *Of*

* l. xv. p. 735.

† See Dion l. iii. Fréh. de Nummis Censur, p. xvii. Saurin, vol. vi. p. 92, who gives a confused account of the money coined by Alexander Severus, for the payment of taxes. Raronius endeavoured to prove that it was an error in Lampridius, but he is refuted by Casaubon.

5. *Of the Management of Public Revenues.*

No instance can be given in history, of an able statesman being entrusted with the management of the public revenues, without bringing about a reformation.

Aristides, being appointed public treasurer, he saw clearly that the officers who had preceded him, had applied a great deal of the public money to their own use; he was resolved to prevent any embezzlement during his management, and for the first year attended strictly to his own duty, and that of the under-officers. The consequence was, such a clamour against him, that with difficulty he escaped being fined; and it was only in consequence of the interposition of the most respectable citizens, that he was re-elected. He now pretended, that his former proceedings were too strict, and he suffered those who acted under him to pilfer the public money, without seeming to find them out, so that, fattened with the spoils of their country, they lavished their praises on Aristides, and begged the people to continue him in the same department. But when the Athenians were going to confirm it to him by their suffrages, he thus rebuked them:—"While," says he, "I managed your finances with all the fidelity of an honest man, I was loaded with calumnies, and now, when I suffer them to be a prey to public robbers, I am become a mighty good citizen. But I assure you, that I am more ashamed of the present honor, than I was of the former disgrace, and it is with indignation and concern, that I see you esteem it more meritorious, to oblige ill men, than to take proper care of the public revenue." By thus speaking, and discovering their frauds, he silenced those who recommended him with so much noise and bustle; and at the same time received the truest and most valuable praise—that of the worthiest of the citizens*.

Cato's management of the Roman treasury, when he was appointed *quæstor*, was no less admirable. He took the utmost pains to gain a thorough knowledge of the duties of his office. He introduced a reformation among the secretaries, and other officers of the treasury, and made use of them, not as assistants, but as servants. He punished those who were refractory, and by attending to the duties of his department, rendered the *quæstorship* of equal dignity with the consulate. He obliged those to refund the public money who had received any for unjust services. Thus having cleared the treasury of all the vermin that formerly attended it, and having filled it with treasure, he shewed that it was possible for a government to be rich, without oppressing the subject. When his office was expired, he was conducted home by almost the whole body of the citizens, blessing and praising him †.

The fact is, that this generous emperor diminished the public taxes, which had been laid on by Heliogabalus, to one thirtieth part of their former amount. So that a person who formerly paid ten aurei (according to Arbutnot, Twenty-five denarii or 16s. 1½d. each) should only pay one-third of an aureus; for the convenience therefore of those, who paid taxes to that amount, a coin called Tremisses, or one-third of an aureus was struck; and Alexander said, that he would have reduced the taxes to one-fourth part, if the state of affairs would have permitted it. Nay some quarterii were coined in expectation that taxes might one day be reduced so low. But they were never issued, and they were afterwards melted down and recoined into tremisses. See Bayle's Dict. vol. i. p. 203, where a very affecting story, connected with this subject, is told in the notes. See also Augusti Hist. vol. i. p. 159. Dr. Smith in his Wealth of Nations, proposes to give currency to paper, by ordering certain taxes to be paid in it.

* Plut. vol. ii. p. 413. Particularly Roll. An. Hist. vol. iii. p. 257.

† Plut. vol. v. p. 64.

Perhaps at first, it may be necessary to let in farm, any new branches of revenue, because there are so many evasions, when taxes are first imposed, that they would not otherwise be very productive. The means of getting the better of such evasions, will probably be sooner discovered by a farmer, than by the public, and the government may afterwards pursue the plan of management invented by the farmer, and improved on by his experience.

In many countries however, the most miserable consequences have resulted from the farming of the public revenues *; and that system would have been totally exploded, had it not been found necessary under arbitrary governments, where the people are secretly, almost universally, united against their sovereign, whose financial interests consequently, would not be much attended to, if he did not give his rights to individuals, who were themselves interested in putting the laws in execution.

The Roman knights, farmed the public revenue; they divided their substitutes into two classes, one of whom accounted to the other. Matthew seems to have been one of the lower class, Zaccheus of the higher †.

Cicero, in some of his speeches ‡, calls the farmers of the revenue, the flower of the nobility. But he considers their substitutes in so odious a light, that he seems to hold their profession incompatible with the character of an honest man §. Undoubtedly had there been many publicans of untainted reputation, we should never have heard of a statue being erected to Vespasian's father with this inscription,—“To the honest publican ||.”

Many reproaches have been heaped upon publicans; among others they have been called, public robbers, authorized by law, and indeed, as they are the instruments of the avarice of others, they can hardly escape the contagion themselves ¶. But the profession of being an officer of the revenue is not of itself disreputable, and is surely necessary in every state. John the Baptist therefore, did not order his disciples, who were of that profession, to quit it entirely, but only never to exact more than was ordered or appointed **.

The folly of farming revenues will appear from the following anecdote related by Plutarch ††:—A stranger at Athens, having sold his whole estate, and given it (amounting to 100 staters, worth 12*s.* 3*d.* sterling each,) to Alcibiades, he was resolved to shew the sense he entertained of his friendship. Accordingly he returned the money, gave him the kindest reception at his house; and insisted upon his being the highest bidder when the public revenues were next set up to auction. Accordingly the stranger offered a talent more than the former rent, and the old farmers, whose method was, by the profits of the present year, to pay the rent of the preceding, were so much perplexed, particularly when Alcibiades offered himself to be security for the payment of the rent, that they offered a talent, or 193*l.* 15*s.* to relinquish the bargain §§. Such are farmers of the revenue!

Another disadvantage arising from farming the public revenue is, that the bargain is never certain, even after it is settled. Sometimes an abatement is demanded; thus Cæsar, during his consulship, in order to encrease his popularity among the knights, who complained of their inability to pay the stipulated sums into the treasury, procured a law to abate a third part of the dis-

* The Colberts expressed the strongest anxiety to avoid farming the revenues. See Volt. Age of Lewis XIV. c. 202. of the Finances. Voltaire endeavours to defend the system of farming the revenue, in the Vision of Baboni, sect. 10.

† Luke c. xix. v. 2.

‡ Orat. pro. Planc. et pro lege Manilia.

§ De Offic. l. i. c. 42.

|| Suet. Vesp. c. i. An. Un. Hist. vol. xv. p. 1.

¶ Saurin, vol. v. p. 280, and 283. Matthew c. ix. v. 9.

** Luke, c. xiii. v. 13.

†† Vol. ii. p. 104.

§§ Arbuthnot.

bursements, which was carried through, notwithstanding the senate's opposition to it, and Cato's in particular *.

Another disadvantage is, that persons are deterred, as was the case with Cato when Censor †, from endeavouring to increase the rent, as it necessarily procures them enemies.

The Romans, and other ancient nations seem almost uniformly to have farmed their revenues. Originally they had nothing but public demesnes, which were very properly farmed; thence they might imagine that it was the only mode of managing public revenue.

6. *To what Extent Taxes may be carried.*

Phillip I. of Macedon having conquered the Thracians, obliged them to pay 1-10th as a tribute †.

The Indians were obliged to pay annually one-fourth part of the produce of their lands to their king §.

Anno urb. 537 after the battle of Cannæ, the Romans paid double taxes in one year, and one-half was exacted immediately ||.

Dionysius, says Aristotle, contrived so to multiply taxes at Syracuse, that in the space of five years, he collected all the private property of his subjects into his own coffers ¶.

In the last wars in Lorraine, anno 1594, many taxes were imposed, to which one of a singular nature was added, namely, every family was obliged to contribute as much, by way of a new tax, as it usually expended in victuals in one day **.

It is difficult, as Voltaire well remarks, to mark out the precise point between impost and rapine ††.

It is a curious subject of discussion, whether the towns, or the country should be most heavily taxed; or in what proportion they should respectively be burdened ‡‡.

Thucydides relates that the people of Attica paid only one twentieth part of their corn to Pisistratus. His son Hippias, on the other hand, at first contented himself with the twentieth part also, but he afterwards endeavoured, by various methods, to increase his revenues, obliging the Athenians to bring in their old silver at a certain price, and coining new, all which occasioned his expulsion §§.

The Romans paid but one-tenth of their corn, and one-fifth of their fruit |||.

One-tenth part of the produce of the soil, was the *jus regium* in the East, and those who contented themselves with that portion, were reckoned good kings. Aristotle observes that Cypselus king of Corinth exacted only one-tenth. The Jews paid not only one-tenth to the king, but one-tenth to their priests ¶¶.

The Spartans having conquered the Messenians, the latter were obliged to cultivate their land with all diligence, and to render half the fruits to the Spartans *†.

* Goldsm. Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 421. Melmoth's Letters of Cicero, vol. i. p. 114, 412.

† Plut. vol. ii. p. 477.

‡ Diod. Sic. b. xvi c. 18. p. 510.

§ Diod. Sic. b. iii. c. 10. Alex. ab Alexandro, vol. i. p. 984.

|| Rollin. Rom. Hist. vol. v. p. 176.

¶ Polt. b. v. c. 11. p. 295.

** Perr. Greg. de Repub. b. iii. c. 6. p. 57. Wanley's Hist. of Man, b. iv. c. 43.

†† Age of Lewis XIV. c. 202. of the Finances.

‡‡ See some observations upon this subject, in Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. c. 202. of the Finances.

||| An. Un. Hist. vol. vi. p. 521.

¶¶ Pat. Comm. vol. i. p. 152.

¶¶ Pat. Comm. vol. ii. p. 210.

*† An. Un. Hist. vol. vii. p. 40.

7. Of Exemption from Taxes.

Alexander exempted the parents and posterity of those from taxes who fell in the battle of Granicus *.

The lands of the priests or princes in Egypt were exempted by Joseph †.

The Emperor Constantine exempted sailors from taxes ‡. They were also exempted by Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius.

Constantine the Great, exempted public teachers from taxes §.

When Porcenna besieged Rome, the senate decreed, that the populace should pay no taxes to the state during the continuance of the war, alledging that they did enough in rearing up and educating children to defend it ||.

Publicola (says Plutarch) exempted the poor from taxes, in order to promote their attention to manufactures; artificers, widows, and old men who had no children to relieve them, also orphans, were exempted ¶.

Camillus, when Censor, found the treasury so much exhausted by the war with the Veientes, that he obliged orphans to contribute to the supplies, and they were very numerous in consequence of the continual wars **.

Physicians were exempted at Rome, in consequence of their having cured Augustus ††.

Anticrates a Spartan, having wounded Epaminondas, among other rewards, had an exemption from taxes, which he and his posterity enjoyed for above 500 years ‡‡.

Minor the informer, who accused Phidias the famous statuary of theft, had an immunity from taxes §§.

Certain Arabians pay no taxes at Algiers, being immemorially employed in the slaughter houses there, and thus, in the capacity of butchers, are exempted |||.

The priests at Rome, were exempted from paying taxes; also the druids, both in Gaul and Britain. Philosophers were exempted in India ¶¶.

By the Saxon laws, the possessions of churchmen were free from lay service and taxes *†.

Nero restored Greece to the enjoyment of its ancient liberties, and freed it from tribute; reducing Sardinia at the same time to the state of a Roman province, and laying the tribute of Achaia upon it. Thus he favoured the Greeks without impairing the revenues of the empire. But this was again altered by Vespasian *†.

At Rome, all the poorer citizens, whose effects did not amount to 11,000 asses, enjoyed a perfect immunity. Thus the poor were exempted * §.

The Emirs, or relations of Mahomet, are exempted from taxes at Aleppo † ||.

* An. Un. Hist. vol. v. p. 297.

† Gen. c. xlvii. v. 26.

‡ Arbuthnot, p. 277.

§ Pat. Comm. vol. i. p. 151.

¶ Goldsm. Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 67.

¶¶ Ibid. vol. i. p. 257, and 259.

|| Plut. vol. i. p. 328.

†† An. Un. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 300.

‡‡ Plut. vol. iv. p. 110.

§§ Langhorne's Plut. vol. ii. p. 44.

||| Modern Travels, vol. i. p. 125, and 148.

¶¶ Bundy's Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 27. An. Un. Hist. vol. i. p. 27. Do. vol. xviii.

p. 587. an. vol. xix. p. 78. See also vol. xx. p. 73.

*† Bacon's Selden, p. xxxix. part. i. c. 21.

* § An. Un. Hist. vol. vii. p. 323. N. B. It was abominable to load one country with the tribute of another.

¶ § See particularly Liv. l. i. c. 43. Chap. Rom. Sen. c. vi. p. 333.

¶¶ Mod. Trav. vol. ii. p. 237, and 238.

With a view of encouraging population, it was enacted at Sparta, that those who had three children should be excused the night watch, and those who had four, should pay no taxes*.

In most civilized states, ambassadors are exempted from the payment of custom house duties. This Voltaire very properly calls an abuse, for by this means, (he observes), trade suffers, and the state is impoverished †.

At one period, under the ancient government of France, the married were exempted from the payment of the tolls for five years, and the father of ten children, during his life; a just and equitable regulation ‡.

Sometimes, exemptions are only partial; as the privileges enjoyed by the members of the British legislature in regard to postage.

Claudius exempted the Trojans from taxes, because Troy was supposed to be the parent of Rome §.

The Egyptian and Babylonian priests were exempted from taxes ||.

Musicians were exempted by Bacchus, from taxes, whose example was followed by others ¶.

The bishop of Trent exported a certain quantity of oil out of the Venetian territories, *free from customs*, in consequence of giving them such of his subjects as were condemned to the galleys **.

8. In what Cases Taxes should be remitted.

Many of the Roman emperors endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with the public, by remitting the debts due to the treasury, and destroying the evidences thereof. But the justice thereof may be disputed, as there is a hardship in making some pay, and exempting others, unless the reasons are very powerful indeed ††.

It is evident, that remissions can only be founded, either on a district being unfairly and unequally taxed, or in consequence of some public calamity having happened, which disabled it from furnishing the taxes it had formerly yielded.

9. What are the Effects of Extortion.

History teems so much with accounts of the baneful effects resulting from public extortion, that it would require a volume to detail them. Some of the most remarkable instances, may be briefly stated.

Xenophon says ‡‡ that the kings of Persia, who reigned after Cyrus, had grown so unjust, that they fined and seized the money and effects not only of those who were guilty, but even of the innocent. Hence the most innocent equally dreaded oppression with the guilty. Nay so much were they oppressed, that they refused to join the army under the command of their superiors; and as is always the case in a despotic government, they were as ready to assist with provisions the forces of an enemy, as those of their own sovereign.

Thus extortion proved the ruin of the Persian empire.

* Aristotle Polit. l. ii. c. 8. p. 91.

† Age of Louis XIV. anno 1684.

‡ Volt. Age of Louis, XIV. c. 201. Interior Government, &c.

§ Sent in Cl. ud. chap. xxv.

|| Diocl. Sic. l. i. c. 3. p. 13. l. i. c. vi. p. 38.

¶ Diocl. Sic. l. iv. c. 1. p. 129. The Bards in Gaul, were also exempted.

** Mission Travels, vol. i. p. 180.

†† As to Hadrian's famous remission, see some curious observations on it, Bayle's Dict. vol. v. p. 671.

‡‡ Lib. viii. p. 512.

Suetonius* says, that Nero gave this short instruction to his tax gatherers, or financiers: "Scis quid mihi opus est, hoc agamus, ne quis quiddam habeat." You know your duty, or you know what I want, take care that no one has any thing left, that he can call his own.

The Romans had many words to express the pillaging of provinces, such as *exfugere, corrodere, deglubere, exossare*, &c. which it is impossible to translate in words equally significant †.

Caligula's principal pleasure was, to walk over, or to roll himself on, the heaps of money he had extorted from his subjects.

The emperor Tiberius is said at first to have behaved well, and even to have lessened the taxes ‡. It is of him that the famous saying is recorded, when some governors had shewn him a method of increasing his revenues, "The good shepherd, (he answered with indignation), ought to shear, and not to slay his flock."

In the latter part of his reign, even Solomon himself was accused of oppressing his subjects §. On his son succeeding him, the people petitioned for redress, but he, like other tyrants, despised their prayers, and deservedly lost his kingdom ||. "If my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke; my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions."

Alcamenes, king of Sparta, being asked how a prince might best secure his government, answered, "by despising gain ¶."

When Antigonus was reminded that Alexander had not fleeced his subjects, as he did, he answered, "Tis true, but Alexander reaped Asia, whereas I do but glean **."

The extortions in Asia in consequence of Sylla's tax, of 20,000 talents, or 3,875,000*l.* are shocking to humanity. Publicans were sent from Rome to collect it, men of great weight in the republic, being Roman knights, but strangers to compassion. Many fathers were obliged to sell their children in order to pay their taxes; and many cities their statues, pictures, and public edifices; and such as had neither money or credit, were either sold to their creditors, or put to the rack. Lucullus humanely interfered in behalf of these unfortunate people, on which account he exasperated the whole body of the knights, who procured his recall, and the appointment of Pompey as his successor ††.

In the later times of the republic, extortion and violence prevailed among the descendants of those great magistrates, whose moderation and discretion had formerly been the admiration of the whole universe. Ruined by excess of luxury and debauchery, they entered upon governments, only to enrich themselves with the spoils of the provinces. They wrung from them immense sums by all sorts of exactions to purchase new employments at Rome. They pillaged allies and subjects to have the means of corrupting their fellow citizens. In vain did the oppressed people seek redress at Rome. They demanded it from judges, who were for the most part engaged in the same crimes; and the senate, from

* In Nero, c. 32.

† *Arturbæ* on Coins, p. 120.

‡ *An. Un. Hist.* vol. xiv. p. 90, and 103.

§ 1 Kings, c. xii. v. 4.

|| *An. Un. Hist.* v. 11.

¶ *An. Un. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 31. See the infamous extortions practised by Cassius against the Rhodians. *Ibid.* v. viii. p. 211.

** *An. Un. Hist.* vol. ix. p. 45. See as to Andriæ's extortions. *Ibid.* p. 164. The only punishment a Roman Governor was liable to for extortion, was, banishment. *An. Un. Hist.* vol. ix. p. 418, till Cæsar's Law. *Sueton.* in *Jul. Cæsar*, c. L. *Cicero ad Att.* # iv. v. 16. *Ad Quint.* *orat.* c. iii. v. 4.

†† *Bund. Rom. Hist.* vol. v. p. 519.

being the protectors of the world, became its tyrants. The law enacted by L. Calpurnius, *de pecuniis repetundis*, did not prove effectual. It passed anno urb. 604, and these extortions so weakened the state according to Cicero, that it subsisted more by the weakness of others, than by its own strength *.

Caracalla used to say, "that money ought not to be lodged in private hands but only in the prince's." And one day, drawing his sword, when his mother blamed him for his extravagant expences, he said: "As long as I have this, I shall never want." A speech fitter for a common robber than a prince.

Magnentius tyrant of Italy, did not content himself with trifling extortions, but putting the richest to death, and seizing their estates, he obliged the rest, under pain of death, to contribute one half of what they were worth.

The Carthaginians brought themselves into the utmost distress in consequence of their extortions. During the first Punic war they tyrannically oppressed the African nations subject to them, and exacted the heaviest tributes without regarding their poverty or miserable situation. Nay they sent governors into the provinces, not such as would gain the affections of the people by lenity and moderation, but such as were most dexterous and cruel in fleecing the miserable inhabitants. When therefore the mercenary war broke out, the Africans were easily prevailed upon to engage in the rebellion; the women were particularly active, who had often seen their fathers and husbands dragged to prison for non-payment of the most unreasonable taxes. Nay they voluntarily gave up all their ornaments to contribute to the expences of the war †.

The duke of Alva demanded from the States General, a tax of the one hundredth part of all the property in the Low Countries, to be raised at once, as a gratification for the army, and for the future, the twentieth part of all immovables, and the tenth of every thing that was sold and transferred ‡.

Queen Richsa, who governed Poland anno 1034 as guardian to Cassimir her son, governed it with great severity. The taxes were considerably augmented, and levied with the utmost barbarity; the impossibility of paying them being deemed an unpardonable crime §.

Even in Great Britain, where taxes have not of late been carried to the same extent as in the instances above mentioned, or in more ancient times, yet they are attended with many fatal effects; for they tend to promote perjury, to increase the miserable consequence of contraband trade, and to augment the consumption of articles of an unwholesome quality, by which the health of the people must be materially affected.

10. *Of the various Sorts of Taxes which may be enacted.*

Having thus considered the subject of taxation in general, we shall now proceed to state the various descriptions of taxes which may be exacted, and treat

* De Offic. b. ii. c. 21. D'Arnay's Life, &c. p. 15. and Ibid. p. 51. Pharaoh, in order to weaken the Jews, laid heavy tributes upon them, which was thought the best way to impoverish them. An. Un. Hist. vol. iii. p. 338. note C. As to the extortions of Antony in Asia, see An. Un. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 421. It is very necessary to attend to Varus's extortions in Germany. Do. vol. xiv. p. 25. A revolt in Britain from Seneca's extortions. Ditto p. 472.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 548.

‡ See Williams's Northern Governments, vol. i. p. 23, and 24.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 370.

of each of them separately. They may be arranged under the following general heads, namely, Taxes. 1. Of Personal Services. 2. Where they are paid in Kind. 3. Where they are laid on Persons. 4. When drawn from real Property. 5. From Personal Property. 6. When imposed on Property transferred. 7. When laid on Income. And 8. When they arise from Consumption. Of each of these in their Order.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

Taxes of Personal Services.

THE first tax, or legal contribution, which would naturally be exacted from the members of any political community, would be that of personal service, either in war, or in peace.

Of Personal Service in War.

It is certain that every individual is bound, by his originally entering into any society, or afterwards remaining in it, to assist in the public defence.

At Rome, they were obliged originally to serve the public at their own expence*, and in all rude and barbarous societies, the case is the same. It is evident indeed, that the state must be defended, either by the whole body of its citizens, or by a certain portion of them hired for that purpose.

Personal services in war are of two kinds. 1. Such as those in ancient republics where they served for nothing; and 2. Where they had land as a recompence, which was the case in Egypt during the government of Sesostris and under the feudal system.

Freedom naturally begets public spirit, especially in small states, and this public spirit, this amor patriæ must increase, when the public is almost in continual alarm, and men are obliged every moment to expose themselves to the greatest dangers for its defence. A continual succession of wars makes every citizen a soldier, he takes the field in his turn, and during his service, is chiefly maintained by himself, but notwithstanding that this service is equivalent to a severe tax; 'tis less felt by the people addicted to arms, who fight for honour and revenge, more than pay, and are unacquainted with gain and industry as well as pleasure†.

The Persian monarchs gave their soldiers no pay, and plunder was the only reward they had for their services in war‡.

The Saxons were obliged to serve for forty days for nothing, or at their own expence, after which, they received pay, as was the case with other feudal nations§.

To recruit the great loss of men which the kingdom had sustained by so many sieges and battles, Lewis XIV. was advised not to confine himself to the usual levies from among the militia, but to issue his orders for assembling the *ban*, and *arriere-ban*. By an ancient custom which is now laid aside, all those that held lands in fee, were obliged to serve their lords paramount in

* Chapman on the Roman Senate, p. 8. note K. The same author observes p. 334, from Dionysius l. vi. c. 22, that the poorer citizens were reduced to a state of indigence, in consequence of the expence they were at in serving the public in time of war, at their own charge.

† Hume's Essays, Discourse i. on Commerce.

‡ Xiphil. in Herodian. p. 234, 235.

§ Bacon's Selden, p. i. p. 285.

the wars, at their own expence ; and to continue in arms for a certain number of days. This service was one of the principal laws of our barbarous nations. Things are at present on a very different footing in Europe ; every kingdom now raises foldiers, who are kept in constant pay, and form a regular and disciplined body.

Lewis XIII. had once during his reign, assembled the nobility of his kingdom. Lewis XIV. now followed his example. The body of nobility took the field, under the command of the marquis of, afterwards marshal, Rochfort, and marched to the frontiers of Flanders, and from thence to the borders of Germany, but this body was neither considerable in its numbers, nor useful in its operations, nor indeed could be rendered so. The gentlemen who had a military turn, and were fit for service, had all commissions in the army ; those whom age or discontent had kept at home, remained there, and the rest who were employed in improving their estates, came with repugnance, to the number of about four thousand. In short they were far from having the appearance of military troops. They were all differently mounted and accoutered, void of experience, ignorant of discipline ; and either incapable or averse to regular service, so that they caused only confusion, and were for ever laid aside. This was the last trace of ancient chivalry which appeared in our regular armies, of which those armies were formerly composed, and which, though possessed of all the courage natural to their nation, never fought well *.

Not only may personal exertions be exacted from the individual himself in time of war, but his cattle, carts, &c. may be compelled to convey baggage, to transport provisions, and other services of a similar nature.

But on the whole such services are of little avail, and at last it is found most advisable, to convert a burden that becomes intolerable, into money. The rich are thus exempted on the payment of a moderate commutation, whilst the poor receive pay, instead of serving for nothing.

Of Personal Service in Peace.

Individuals are not only bound to defend their country in time of war, but also to contribute their endeavours, in time of peace, to render it more fertile and commodious. Hence arises the obligation which in early ages of society, every individual is obliged to fulfil, of assisting in the making of roads, repairing bridges, &c. called by the old Saxon law, the *Trinoda necessitas*.

When Gelon defeated the Carthaginians, he divided the captives among his allies, who employed them in public works for the common good, the Agrigenines in particular. Is it not a shame that tyrants should have it in their power to treat their subjects as others do their slaves.

Tyrants seem to delight in employing their people in personal services as well as squeezing their property from them. Thus the kings of Egypt employed their subjects in building ostentatious pyramids, as they did the Jews, in making brick for their other buildings. Thus also the Babylonian kings employed their subjects ; and Tarquin the proud, his Roman ones. He obliged the poor people to work for him in common sewers, and works of a similar nature, and allowed them only what sufficed for their maintenance, which was but poor. Many of the workmen died of fatigue, whilst others killed themselves to avoid or escape it. Some were forced to hew stone, others to carry them on handbarrows, others to dig up the ground, others to build the arches. Workmen

* Volt. Lewis XIV. 11th Aug. 1675, note, chap. 176. The glorious Campaign, &c. of M. Turcane.

were taken out of their shops where they worked for themselves, and obliged to labour for their tyrant *.

When Tarquin was expelled, the meaner sort were for ever exempted from those toilsome, *servile, personal labours*, with which Tarquin had oppressed them †.

Whensoever the king will have his roots planted, which is done in November, he gives notice to the neighbouring villages subject to him, whence both men and women come, under the conduct of their several masters, every one of them bringing an iron spade with a handsome handle to it about as big as a man's hand, and triangular, wherewith they first as it were rake the top of the earth to clear it from weeds and stones, then they lay straight lines or cords made of the bark of the Mangrove tree, the whole length of the field, and dig trenches all along, them a foot square, into each of which they lay a proportion of the roots above mentioned, given them by the women, by whom they are at first cut, and then brought into the field in baskets made of a cane split into four, which they call *Haze malaise*, that is soft wood, then they cover the roots with earth, leaving two feet and a half distance between them. This manner of planting they call *Ambaule*, and this is the first service they owe their prince. The second is, when the rice is to be sowed; as also, the millet, beans, and pease; and the third at the harvest ‡.

All those who cultivate the land, unless they are particularly privileged, are obliged to keep the high roads in repair which lead through their lands, are obliged to furnish horses and baggage-waggons for the king, his ministers, and his officers, when they travel; and are farther-bound to pay the expence of detaining and of bringing to justice all such criminals as are taken upon their lands §.

Sometimes individuals are bound to give not their own personal service, but to procure the personal services of others, particularly in time of war. This tax is of two kinds. First for the army, and secondly for the navy.

Perhaps a tax of this sort, might be attended with some advantageous consequences. When all taxes are paid in money, the great landed proprietors think of nothing but of raising the rents of their lands, whereas were they also bound to furnish a certain number of men, they would not be inclined to depopulate their estates, (throwing them into the hands of a few great farmers) nor would they waste the whole of their income in supporting the extravagance of a few idle domestics, but would be induced to direct their attention to increase the number of inhabitants which their property could maintain.

This tax however is properly of a feudal nature, founded on the principles of the military tenures, which formerly took place all over Europe. On the Continent in general, this tax was confined to military matters, but in Denmark, whose grandeur and security was supposed to depend upon her maritime force, the whole country was divided into little districts, and each district was obliged, in time of war, to build and completely equip one ship, and furnish it with provisions as long as should be necessary for the king's service. Valdemor king of Denmark, it is said, had 1400 armed vessels in consequence of this tax ||.

During the second Punic war, the senate decreed that every citizen, who at the preceding census or general taxation of the city, was found to be worth

* An. Un. Hist. vol. i. p. 348. Bundy's Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 371.

† Bundy's Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 209.

‡ Knapton's Voyages, p. 73.

§ Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 394.

|| See farther particulars on this subject, Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 201 and 202. At present however in Denmark, more attention is paid to the military department, and every person in the kingdom, who possesses 360 acres of land, is obliged to furnish a man for the militia. Ditto, p. 402.

from 400*l.* to 800*l.* of our money, should furnish one sailor with six months' pay, towards manning the fleet, that those who were rated from 800*l.* to 2400*l.* should furnish three sailors, with a year's pay; that those who were rated from 2400*l.* to 8000*l.* should furnish five sailors; that all who were rated above that sum, should furnish seven, and that all Senators should furnish eight, with a year's pay*.

CHAP. II.

Of Taxes paid in Kind.

In rude ages, when the valuable metals are rare, and when a larger sum is required for the service of the public than can possibly be furnished in money, owing to a scarcity of the circulating medium, in that case undoubtedly, it may be necessary, to allow a certain portion of the taxes to be paid in kind.

In this manner, every article produced from the earth may be required. But, it is evident, that the public must be under the necessity of disposing of such articles as it may not have any immediate occasion for, and hence is compelled to become a merchant, the disadvantage of which situation, has been already sufficiently explained.

The only possible mode of making the two systems agree, is this, to charge a certain sum of money, allowing each individual to discharge the tax, by paying such commodities in kind, for instance, grain, cloth, horses, &c. as the public may have real occasion for.

It would appear that a great deal of Solomon's revenue was paid in kind. He divided his kingdom into twelve provinces; each under a peculiar officer; and each of which was to supply the king with provisions for his household for one month in the year†.

The tenth part of the corn of the Syracusan territory was paid to Hiero, and afterwards to the Romans.

Cæsar, after his return from Africa, boasted, that he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring in yearly into the public stores 200,000 attic measures of wheat, and 3,000,000 of pounds of oil‡.

In Morocco, there are no demefnes, but the emperor is legally entitled to the tythe of corn, of cattle, of butter, of honey, and of oil§.

Much of the revenues of the Persian monarchs were paid in kind. Some provinces were charged with furnishing what was necessary for the queen's toilet, &c. Four great villages near Babylon were obliged to maintain the king's dogs||.

The inhabitants of Libya Tripolitara paid annually a certain quantity of oil to the Romans. They submitted to this burden at first, of their own accord, out of regard to Severus, who was their countryman, and had extirpated their enemies; but this contribution proved in time so burdensome that Constantine remitted it¶.

* See Livy, xxiv. c. 11. Middleton's Roman Senate, p. 99. note S.

† 1 Kings, c. iv. v. 7, 27. Reland, Palest. Illustr. c. 89, endeavours to explain the extent, limits, and quota of each district. Patrick (Comm. vol. ii. p. 373.) erroneously supposes, that the twelve officers were only to buy provisions, and send them where the king resided. There seems to be an error in the translation of the bible, v. 28. for the barley and straw were to be brought to the place where the horses and dromedaries were; and not where the officers dwell, as they could not devour such provisions themselves.

‡ Plut. vol. iv. p. 385.

§ Knapton's Voyages, p. 90. The emperor, like other Mahometan princes, can impose no new taxes.

|| Herod. l. ii. Roll. An. Hist. vol. li. p. 320. vol. iv. p. 183, &c.

¶ An. Un. Hist. vol. xv. p. 317.

Strabo says, that the Satrap of Armenia, paid annually 20,000 colts. In Persia, much revenue was paid, in grain and provisions, and also much revenue exacted by means of maintaining the king's household. The Satrap of Babylon maintained it for four months or one third of the year *.

Aurelian ordained that the Egyptians should pay a certain annual tax of glass, paper, linen, flax, and other goods as some commentators assert. But Casaubon thinks it should not be read *anabolics* but *unbolicas*, and explains it to be that annual quantity of corn paid by the Egyptians to the city of Rome. This tax was not intended for the imperial treasury, but for Rome alone †.

The Cappadocians paid their taxes in kind, so scarce was money ‡.

In Abyssinia every loom that weaves cotton cloth, if belonging to a christian, pays one of those cloths: also every man that has cows must pay once in the three years, one out of ten to the emperor, which brings in a great revenue. This they call *burning*, because they burnt a mark upon those chosen for the emperor, but it may deserve the name for other reasons, as the officers who collected the cattle, were so insolent and tyrannical to the poor people, that they consume every thing.

The emperor also used to receive 3000 horses annually, but they were of little value §.

Part of the revenue of the Sultan is paid in the product of the several countries subject to his dominion. The canal of Constantinople is covered the whole year round with vessels which bring from Egypt, &c. all sorts of provisions necessary for the seraglio, for the Janissaries, or for the fleet ||.

A part of the taxes of Denmark are paid in grain ¶.

The Samoyedes voluntarily agreed to pay for themselves and countrymen, two martens, or sable skins, every year, for each inhabitant **.

CHAP. III.

Taxes on Persons, or Poll Taxes.

It is natural to suppose, that capitation taxes would be a very early means of raising a public revenue. The property of individuals, when political societies are at first constituted, is generally equal, and indeed the common territory is very often proportionably divided among them. In such cases a capitation would be the best of all taxes. But when property comes to be unequally divided, it seems to be a mode of raising a revenue peculiarly exceptionable; every person being liable to the same duty, with very different means of paying it.

The first personal tax we read of in history, was that paid by the Jews ††, anno mundi 2514, before Christ 1490. The amount was half a shekel each

* Vide Roll. An. Hist. vol. ii. p. 318.

† August. Hist. vol. ii. p. 534. This accounts for the buildings in the different parts of the Roman empire being frequently so magnificent, as many emperors gave the taxes raised in them for such purposes. August. Hist. vol. i. p. 911. In support of Casaubon's opinion it is said vol. ii. p. 576, that Aurelian valued himself much upon adding $\frac{1}{2}$ to the provisions of Rome, from the tributes of Egypt.

‡ Bayle's Dict. vol. iv. p. 102, note E, voce Cappadocia. Vide as to oxen, hens, and horses, paid in kind, Little's Hist. of Henry II. vol. i. p. 406 and 407.

§ Knappton's Voyages as to Abyssinia.

|| Volt Gen. Hist. vol. iii. part 5. c. 5.

¶ Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 394.

** See Voltaire's Hist. of the Russian Empire, chap. i. part 1. sect. Siberia.

†† Exod. c. xxx. v. 32.

man, or according to bishop Cumberland's calculation, 1*l.* 1*½**d.* sterling. The poor as well as the rich were liable to this tax, if above 20 years. When the temple was built, this tax was destined for its maintenance. On account of the captivity, Nehemiah only charged them one-third of a shekel *.

It is singular, that this, which was the earliest personal tax, recorded in history, can be traced, at various periods, from the year 1491 before Christ, until the reign of Domitian. For among the other charges which were adduced against Flaccus, whom Cicero defended, was the prohibition which he enforced against the Jews, to carry out from his province the gold which they used annually to collect, through the empire, for the temple of Jerusalem, all which he seized and remitted to the treasury at Rome †.

Titus obliged the Jews to pay this half shekel yearly into the Roman treasury, which his father Vespasian confirmed.

As early as anno urb. 248, the Sabines were obliged to pay a poll tax to the Romans ‡.

After the destruction of Carthage, the senate of Rome decreed, that all the Africans of the Carthaginian state, both men and women, should pay an annual tribute or tax per head §.

An equality of property being established at Rome, resembling that at Lacedemon, all were obliged to pay equal taxes, and were bound equally to serve the public at their own expence.—But this, which was very reasonable at first, in process of time, when many who had lost their properties, were forced to contribute as largely to the support of government, as those who had doubled or trippled them, became much otherwise.

Servius Tullius altered this system; but until his time every individual paid the same tax, which was a direct capitation tax ||.

Augustus wishing to put the public revenues in some order, commanded an exact enumeration to be drawn up of the numbers as well as the property of every individual in the empire¶. This was Augustus's second survey, and began about three years before the birth of Christ. The Jews were enraged at this new imposition, and Judas a Galilean, supported by Sadoc or Saducus a pharisee, excited a revolt in Judea on that account, which was not quelled without some difficulty. Taxes on property they affirmed might be tolerated, but forgetting the tax of half a shekel, paid by each Jew, for the temple of Jerusalem, which perhaps they accounted voluntary, they affirmed that capitation taxes were unsupportable, and only fit for slaves. This is a very general idea **.

To defray so vast a charge as the payment of two great armies, the parliament, besides the grant of six subsidies, imposed a tax seldom or never known, which was that of the poll-money, wherein the whole kingdom was to be personally assessed. Every duke at 100*l.* a marquiss at 80*l.* earls at 60*l.*

* Neh. x. 32.

† Orat. pro Flacco, c. 28. Flaccus however was acquitted. Mld. Cicero vol. i. p. 316. This surely was a species of religious persecution, though the tolerating spirit of the Romans has been of late so highly celebrated.

‡ Dion. Hal. l. 5. p. 315. An. Un. Hist. vol. xi. p. 272.

§ Bund. Rom. Hist. vol. iv. p. 631. An. Un. Hist. vol. xii. p. 383.

|| Chapman on Rom. Sen. p. 7, 8 and 9. c. i. See also ditto, c. vi. sect. v. p. 331.

¶ Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. i. Ditto, Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 8. An. Un. Hist. vol. x. p. 458, 518.

** Saurin, Diff. vol. vi. p. 511. note 16. says that a capitation tax is a certain mark of slavery. Tertullian gives it as his opinion, Apol. c. 13. *Hominum capita stipendio censa, ignobiliora, nam hæ sunt notæ captivitatis.* And Scipio said to the vanquished Carthaginians, *Hos præmiis afficiunt Romani, socios, nempe populos, aut reges, aliis (scilicet hostibus) tributum definiunt in agros, et in capita.*

viscounts and barons at 40*l.* knights of the bath 30*l.* other knights 20*l.* esquires 10*l.* every gentleman dispending 100*l.* per annum was taxed at 5*l.* and all others of ability, were to pay a competent proportion; the meanest head of the whole kingdom was not excused under sixpence*.

In Saxony there is a capitation of six dollars on all males when they are made apprentices, or begin to work. People of a higher rank are taxed according to their class. Even strangers pay after six months' residence. Jews are taxed at fifty dollars, their wives at thirty, and their children at twenty†.

The bailiffs, the secretaries, and all the king's officers, as well as those who live on privileged manors, pay 8*s.* English each person, so much for their wives, and so much for each of their children above twelve years of age: if they keep horses, they pay 4*s.* English for each stable where the horses are kept. The clergymen who officiate in the parishes, pay for their wives and for all their children who are above twelve years of age, and about 5*s.* 6*d.* English each person, and 4*s.* for their horses, but they are exempted from this tax in consideration of the pains which they take to make out an exact list every year, of those who are taxable in their respective parishes. The vicars, parish clerks, and all such farmers who occupy farms which are exempt from taxes, pay for themselves, for their wives, and for all their children, about 2*s.* 8*d.* English, for each person every year; and for their horses, let their number be greater or smaller, 4*s.* English a-year. The stewards and housekeepers of the nobility pay about 4*s.* each a-year each person, their footmen 2*s.* and their maid servants 1*s.* 4*d.* English each. The day-labourers who work about the farms, and who are not in yearly service, pay, 4*s.* and their wives 2*s.* English each, every year. Those tradesmen who work in the country, and only make the utensils which are necessary for farming, are exempt from this tax, but those who follow other trades pay for themselves 8*s.* English a year each, and as much for their wives, and for every person in their family. This capitation tax is farmed, and those who undertake it, as well as those supervisors who collect the other taxes in the country, give their accounts yearly to the board of finances‡.

A tax on women, was at one particular period, a mode of raising a revenue at Rome; for we are told that whilst Augustus and his associates indulged their fondness for cruelty among the men, the softer sex was marked out as the objects of their avarice and resentment. They made out a list of 1400 women, of the best quality and the richest in the city, who were ordered to give in a list of their fortune, to be taxed in proportion. But this seemed so unpopular a measure, and was so firmly opposed by Hortensia, who spoke against it, and whose speech is preserved by Appian, that instead of 1400, they were contented to tax only 400. However they made up the deficiency by extending the tax upon men, of whom about 100,000, as well citizens as strangers, were compelled to furnish supplies, to the subversion of their country's freedom§.

When Servius Tullius taxed the Roman people, he laid a tax upon widows, who were exempted from all other contributions, in order to purchase horses for the cavalry, or Roman knights, amounting to 1800. It is singular that Tullius should tax widows to furnish horses to the Roman Knights, unless he

* May's Hist. of the parliament of England, an. 1640. p. 105.

† Modern Travels, vol. iii. p. 84, 85.

‡ Williams's North. Gov. vol. i. p. 395, 396.

§ Goldsm. Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 44. Darnay's Life of the Romans, p. 396. See Bayle's Observations upon this tax, voce Hortensia, vol. vi. of his Dictionary, p. 240. and the notes upon it.

imagined, that they would pay that tax more willingly than any other, on account of its being expended for the support of so gallant a race of men*.

The Emperor Commodus, upon his birth day, demanded from each of the senators' wives, and from their children, two crowns: this tribute he called "the first-fruits:" and from all the senators that were in the rest of the cities and provinces, he exacted five drachmas each †.

Those who have children, are not only more useful to a state than bachelors, from increasing the population and consequently the strength of a country, but also where taxes are imposed upon consumption, are more advantageous in a financial point of view, as the unmarried must proportionally consume fewer commodities than those who have a family to maintain. It is therefore thought just and reasonable to make up the difference, by particular taxes upon bachelors.—Among ancient nations in particular, this was accounted a proper source of revenue.

In Sparta, by the laws of Lycurgus, marks of infamy were set upon those who continued bachelors. The time of marriage was fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to a prosecution, as were all such as married above or below themselves. Such as had three children had great immunities, and such as had four, were free from all taxes.—Those who continued bachelors beyond the time fixed for marriage by the laws, were not permitted to see the exercises of the naked virgins; and the magistrates commanded them to march naked round the market place, in the winter, singing a song composed against themselves, which expressed how justly they were punished for disobedience to the laws ‡.

Bachelors were also deprived in Sparta, of that honour and respect, which the younger people paid to the old, so that nobody found fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, though an eminent commander. It seems when he came one day into company, a young man instead of rising up, and giving him place, told him, "You have no child to give place to me when I am old."

The Romans, with a view of multiplying the number of citizens, rewarded those who married, and punished those who lived in a state of celibacy. The censors, when they numbered the people, were accustomed to interrogate each married citizen, "Upon your honour have you a wife whereby to have children." *Ex animi tui sententia, uxore habes, liberum querendorum causa.* Those who had no wives were liable to a tax or fine called *Æs uxorium*, first enacted by Camillus, A. U. 350. Some were besides degraded from their tribe. Nor was the testimony of the unmarried taken A. U. 518: The censors made all the young citizens swear to marry.—Cæsar made many regulations on this matter. Augustus heightened the fines on bachelors, and encouraged matrimony by reward §. In this he had two objects in view, one to punish the bachelors, the other to enrich the public treasure, to whose profit it confiscated collateral successions and legacies left to unmarried citizens. By the laws passed at the same time, many advantages were given to the married.—They were preferred to employments, the age necessary to attain them was dispensed with, by taking off so many years as they had children. They took place of their colleagues, and had distinguished seats in the theatre, and at the spectacles. Lastly, those in Rome who had three, in Italy who had four, and in the provinces who had five children, were exempted from all troublesome offices, a right which was greatly sought after. Plutarch says of this law, that it made many citizens marry, rather with a

* Bundy's Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 147. The widows were afterwards exempted by Publicola. An. Un. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 365.

† Wanley's Hist. of Man, b. iv. c. 33.

‡ Plat. vol. i. p. 20.

§ See the Lex Papia Poppæa, Tacitus, Annal. lib. iii. c. 25.

view of inheriting, than of procuring heirs or inheritors. Constantine moderated, or abolished most of these fines and penalties, thinking them contrary to the gospel*.

In Persia, a numerous issue was reckoned the greatest blessing that the gods could bestow, and those who could produce a numerous offspring, received presents from the king†. Not only so, but in consequence of the opinion they entertained that married people were peculiarly happy in the other world, if a young person died in celibacy, they hired one to be married to him or her, which ceremony was performed a little after their burial‡.

It has been already observed, that antiquity does not seem entitled to those praises for hospitality, for which it has been so often celebrated. Of this the tax upon strangers, which took place even in Athens itself, where civilization it is supposed was carried to so great a height, seems to be a sufficient proof.

The Athenians it is well known, were divided into three classes. 1. Citizens, 2. Strangers, and 3. Slaves.

In every nation some men will be found who are dissatisfied with their condition. These if they are numerous forming themselves into a body, and electing a leader to direct their operations, issue from their native country to purchase a habitation with money, or to obtain it by violence. If they are only few, they wander into more friendly climates in expectation of a happier fate. This custom of emigration was very frequent among the states of antiquity, and the reputation which the Athenians had acquired for generosity and politeness, made Athens the favourite asylum of every wandering foreigner. These strangers were loaded with a stated annual tax, which if they failed to discharge, the tax-masters were empowered to seize them and sell them for slaves. But such as signalized themselves in behalf of the state, received from the people a recompence adequate to their service; and were often exempted from all taxes and impositions, except those to which the citizens themselves were subject. The Athenian tax on strangers was twelve drachmæ or six livres French.

Plutarch furnishes us with the following anecdote respecting the tax upon strangers at Athens. Lycurgus the orator it seems, had delivered the famous philosopher Xenocrates, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were hurrying him to prison for the tax paid by strangers. When Xenocrates soon after met Lycurgus's children, he said to them, "I have made a noble return to your father, for the service he did me, for all the world praise him for it §."

Lycurgus forbid strangers to come to Sparta, who could not assign a good reason for their coming, lest they should introduce bad customs, and evil habits into the country. But he received with pleasure, such strangers as came and submitted to his laws, and instead of taxing them assigned them shares of land, which they could not however alienate ||.

When any description of persons are peculiarly obnoxious to the government of a country, they are often occasionally subjected to particular taxes. Thus the Jews, after their subjection to the Roman Empire, and also in many modern states, paid considerable sums.

The Jews at Venice, are obliged to wear red hats, but they are exempt from that disagreeable custom upon the payment of a small sum of money ¶.

The Jews live about a league from Ausburg, and are obliged to pay, when they resort there, a florin, or about 3s. sterling per hour**.

The Mahomedans in their declaration of war against any people of a different faith, gave them their choice of three offers. Either to embrace Ma-

* D'Arney's Life of the Rom. p. 296.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. v. p. 127.

‡ An. Un. Hist. vol. v. p. 156.

§ Plutarch, vol. iii. p. 43. and vol. v. p. 34.

|| Plur. vol. i. p. 165.

¶ Misson's Trav. vol. i. p. 311. ditto, vol. ii. p. 476.

** Ditto, vol. i. p. 133.

hommedism, or to submit *and pay tribute*, or else to decide the quarrel by the sword*.

Augustus, by Anthony's advice, laid a tax of two drachmas for every slave†.

By the famous treaty of Affiento, the English merchants were allowed to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes, for which they paid 33 piafters a head, by way of duty, but in the sale of 4800 negroes, 800 were admitted duty free‡.

In some instances absentees, who have property in one country, and reside in another, have been liable to particular taxes§.

CHAP. IV.

Of Taxes on Capital, or, on Property in general,

Next to personal taxes, a duty on capital, or on the total property which each individual possesses, has, in some cases been adopted, sometimes without any advantage to the person who pays it, and at other times when each enjoys weight and authority in the state, in proportion to the tax he pays.

Servius Tullius established the latter system at Rome. Before his time, every citizen had been taxed singly, and each paid an equal share to the necessities of the state. This method of contributing to the public exigencies, he pretended to consider as extremely unjust: and therefore he proposed one of a more equitable kind, by which every citizen should be only taxed according to his fortune—The people who were unable to see into his designs, received his project with the loudest applause, and conferred upon him full power to settle the taxes as he thought proper—Accordingly, he divided the people into six classes. The first class consisted of 80 centuries, and comprehended the richest men in Rome—The second class comprehended 22 centuries—The third and fourth classes 20 each—The fifth class 30—The last but of one, it consisted of the poorest of the people, who paid no taxes, and were dispensed with from going to war. Thus the whole people were divided into six classes, and were subdivided into 193 centuries, and each century was obliged to supply an equal share of revenue to the exigencies of government. But it was reasonable, that as the first class (who consisted of the senators and of the rich in general) furnished most of the necessities of the state, they should also have a proportional influence in managing its concerns, accordingly he instituted, that, as they paid their taxes by centuries, that they should give their votes in all public transactions by centuries also. The Plebeians were thus left but the shadow of authority, with which however they seemed for some ages to be sufficiently contented, until the increasing luxury of the times, taught one side the abuse of power, and the other a pride that disdains subordination||.

Servius Tullius seems to have followed Solon's example in his principles of taxation: for he divided the people of Athens into four ranks, the first were supposed to have a stock consisting of 500 medimni or measures of fruit, and they

* Modern Un. Hist. vol. i. p. 374.

† An. Un. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 442.

‡ Voltaire's Hist. of the War, 1741. c. 5.

§ See the chapter on the Revenue of Ireland in this work.

|| Goldf. Hist. vol. i. p. 44. Rollin says, Rom. Hist. vol. i. p. 200. Servius about this time endeavoured to introduce a regulation, the wisest and most advantageous to the republic that could be formed. See also Abbé Vertot's account of this admirable regulation, *Revolutions*, vol. i. p. 21.

paid a talent yearly to the treasury. The second were bound to keep a horse, and must have three hundred medimni. The third class must be worth 200 medimni, and the remainder of the people were not admitted to any office, but had each of them a vote in the general assembly of the people. At first this was thought a matter of little consequence, but its importance was soon after discovered and indeed was foreseen, and intended by Solon, who, with that view, not only allowed appeals to the people, but drew up his laws in such obscure terms, that such appeals became frequently necessary*.

CHAP. V.

Of Taxes on real, or Landed Property.

Taxes are in general a mode of decreasing the property of individuals, for the sake of increasing the property of the public. It is certain, that if the value of each man's property could at once be discovered, it would render the imposing of taxes a very easy operation. But as a thousand difficulties occur in attempting to ascertain the wealth of individuals, and as in some states, particularly those of a mercantile nature, it is supposed that it might be attended with injurious consequences, other modes of raising a revenue have been adopted.

From the difficulties found in taxing capital, *in cumulo*, arose taxes both on real and on personal property, and on income; these different sources of revenue shall be treated of in separate chapters, beginning with the first.

Real property consists in lands, buildings, fisheries, and mines, each of which may either be separately or jointly taxed.

1. Taxes on Land.

The principal source of wealth, in every country (commercial states alone excepted) arises from the produce of land; it is just and reasonable, therefore, that it should be considered as a most important object of taxation. But even in this, which seems to be one of the simplest modes of raising a revenue, a variety of circumstances must be considered. For in consequence of an impolitic mode of taxing land †, agriculture may be greatly discouraged.

Land may be taxed either by exacting a certain share of the produce; or by a tax varying according to the state of its cultivation, or by such a rate as the land tax in England, which was not liable to fluctuation ‡.

Joseph advised Pharaoh to take a fifth part of the land, or more properly speaking of its produce, during the seven years of plenty §. This is the highest land tax recorded in history, and could only be justified by the great abundance of produce; and by the necessity of providing for the seven years of approaching scarcity.

The first land tax paid *in money*, recorded in history, was in the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, who being obliged to pay Pharaoh-nechoh, 100 talents of silver, and one talent of gold, exacted it from the land ¶.

* An. Un. Hist. vol. vi. p. 303. Some Ethiopian nations bestowed the government upon the most opulent. An. Un. Hist. vol. xviii. p. 281. Antipater insisted that Athens should be governed by the rich alone, thinking that they would be easier managed. Roll. An. Un. Hist. vol. vii. p. 46.

† At Rome, the tax is not upon the land, but the corn it produces, which makes it insupportable. Addison's Travels, p. 114.

‡ Voltaire, in his Essay on the Constitution of England, praises much the land tax established there, for its never varying. § Gen. xli. 21. ¶ 2 Kings xxiii. 33, 34, 35. The

The estates general of that part of France, that adhered to Charles VII. against Henry V. generously laid a land tax, anno 1426, which has continued ever since. The kings before had lived upon their demesnes, and this tax was established at a time of scarcity, at the time when they were even afraid of leaving the lands uncultivated, and sowed the grain with a plough in one hand, and a sword in the other*.

Soon after, the husbandmen who before that time had paid the land tax to their lords in quality of bondmen, paid this tribute to their king only in quality of subjects. Not but the kings of France even before St. Lewis, had also levied a land tax on the royal patrimony. Every one knows the tax of *bread and wine*, which at first was paid in kind, and afterwards in money—The French word *taille* signifying a tax, is derived from the custom which the collectors had, of marking on a little tally, what the persons liable to contributions had given. Nothing was more rare in those days, than for the common people to write. The very customs of cities were not written till 1454†.

In Prussia there is a tax of one half of the rent of lands, or 10s. in the pound‡.

The land tax in Holland is moderate, on account of the great expences the land holders are at, in supporting their dykes, and windmills, and in keeping their country dry§.

All who cultivate land, if they are not particularly privileged, pay four different kinds of taxes for every tun of hart corn (about 6 English acres) which they possess. As, first a tax of grain, which is paid partly in money, and partly in the different kinds of grain, and which amounts yearly to three shillings and three-pence English money, except the taxes are very high, and then it amounts to five or six shillings English, every year.—Secondly a tax (called in the Danish language *Matrikel Skatton*) which amounts to about seven shillings English every year.—Thirdly, a tax upon horses, which is about one shilling and two-pence every year.—Fourthly, a tax upon flesh, which produces about nine-pence English yearly, so that every poor farmer who cultivates such a quantity of land, pays at least 12s. English, about two shillings per acre, to the government in these four taxes, besides his yearly rent, tythes, keeping roads in repair, furnishing horses, baggage, and waggons for the king and his ministers, bringing criminals to justice, and paying a certain sum yearly to the clergyman in addition to the tythes||.

In 1372, Lewis king of Hungary and Poland, renewed the tax called in Poland *Krolewczynna*, or the Royal tax. The farmers were obliged to give the prince, according to this regulation, a certain quantity of grain, and a sum of money, the value of the whole being about 1s. 6d. sterling for every acre of arable land. The Poles made strong remonstrances against this tax, and at length got it reduced to one-third of what it originally was, but with this condition, that they would choose one of the daughters of Lewis to be their sovereign, if he died without heirs male¶.

The affairs of the revenue in Russia, had been administered much in the same manner as in Turkey. Each boyard paid a stipulated sum, for *his lands*, which he raised upon the peasants, his vassals**.

* Volt. Gen. Hist. p. 14.

† Volt. Gen. Hist. vol. ii. p. 3. c. 3. For other ingenious observations on the subject of a land tax, see Voltaire's age of Lewis XIV. at the end of the chapter "*On the Finances*."

‡ Modern Travels, vol. iii. p. 72.

§ Williams's North. Govern. v. i. p. 130.

|| Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 394, 395.

¶ Williams's North. Govern. vol. ii. p. 432, 433.

** Volt. Hist. of the Russian Empire, c. 10. an. 1698.

Tax on Ground Rents.

Besides the taxes, which the inhabitants of every town of Denmark pay for the support of Government, there is also a heavy tax paid in towns: a kind of ground-rent, which every house pays, in proportion to its extent. But it is applied to the public expences of the town itself*.

Voltaire in his man of 40 crowns, (section, disaster of the man worth 40 crowns) ably ridicules the *Economistes*, and their famous principle that all taxes should be laid upon land. Also in the next section, where the geometrician says, that at 20 crowns for 4 arpents, the revenue of France would be 1200 millions of livres, and particularly in the speech where he says, "the injustice of this administration is as evident, as the calculation is erroneous. The refined industry of the merchants, should pay more than the rude industry of the labourer†."

2. Taxes on Houses.

It is natural to suppose, that every individual, nearly in proportion to his property, would procure for himself the conveniences of being well lodged. Hence originated taxes upon houses.

It is very difficult to know how to apportion these taxes according to the value of the house in which an individual dwells. To make every house pay the same sum, is liable to the same objection with that of an equal capitation.

A very heavy charge is laid upon the towns in Denmark, that they may be exempted from the lodging of soldiers. This tax is laid upon all houses in proportion to their size and situation. It is the magistrates of the towns, in conjunction with some of the principal citizens, who regulate this tax, and which in case of a dispute is submitted to the examination of a committee, composed of all the deputies of the classes of the state‡.

Isaac Commenus, emperor of the East, had a new and extraordinary way of taxing, and it was in this manner. Upon every street, wherein there were thirty chimneys or funnels, he imposed one crown in gold, two in silver, one sheep, six measures of barley, six measures of wine, six measures of bran, and thirty hens. Upon one that had twenty, the eighth part of a crown in gold, a crown in silver, half a lamb, four measures of barley, four measures of wine, and twenty hens. Upon a street that had ten, he fixed as his tribute, five pieces of silver, a young lamb, two measures of barley, and ten hens§.

Margaret queen of Denmark and Norway, who died anno 1412, laid a tax of a florin upon every hearth or fire||.

Hearth money was a tax which was also established in England, and still remains in Ireland. In cold countries it was natural to imagine, that every family would incline to enjoy the comforts of fuel, in proportion to the general income it enjoyed. This tax was abolished in England at the revolution, on the ground that no individual should be compelled to submit to the ad-

* Ground rent taxes are much approved of by Adam Smith. See also Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 398.

† See also at the end of the sect. "Adventure with a Carmelite." Also the last paragraph of the section, entitled, an Audience of a Comptroller General, where the new author is ridiculed, who makes the legislature co-proprietor of all their estates by divine right, and who gives the king 1200 millions of livres a year.

‡ Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 398.

§ Wanley's Hist. of Man, book iv. c. 33. Petr. Greg. de Repub. l. iii. c. 4. p. 54. sec. 13.

|| Wanley's Hist. of Man, book iv. c. 33. Petr. Greg. de Repub. l. iii. c. 4. p. 54. mission

mission of revenue officers into his house, being incompatible with the liberties of a free people.

Voltaire in his age of Lewis XIV. in the chapter entitled "*the Situation of France*," says, that Cardinal Richelieu was obliged to lay a tax upon the houses with *great gates* in the city of Paris, every one of which was obliged to furnish an armed footman to drive the enemy from the gates of the metropolis; and anno 1649, every house with a great gate, furnished a man and horse, from whence this body of horse got the name of the Great Gate Cavalry.

As light was reckoned fully as necessary as fire, and as the number of windows could be perceived without the necessity of admitting the disagreeable visits of a revenue officer, it was therefore supposed that an adequate revenue from houses might be obtained, by laying a tax upon window lights. This system has been carried to a very great height in England.

After the death of Cæsar, every senator was obliged to pay six asses for every tile on his house *.

3. *Tan on Fisheries.*

It has been already observed, that fisheries have belonged in property to the public, but when they are given to individuals, and are of such value as to yield a certain annual income, no reason can be assigned, why they should not be taxed, like other real property; and in fact they are liable to what is called the land tax in Scotland, and in other countries.

4. *Tan on Mines.*

Mines are undoubtedly a very proper subject for the public to be possessed of, were it not that they would be but very seldom discovered, if individuals were not impelled to it by the hope of gain. It has therefore been found much more profitable to the public, to suffer private persons to enjoy the property of mines, upon paying a certain share of the profit, or an equivalent in money.

Spain formerly abounded in valuable mines of every sort, particularly of gold and silver; the proprietors of which paid a certain proportion of the pure ore, which these mines produced to the government †.

CHAP. VI.

Of Taxes on Personal Property.

It is very evident, that were it possible to discover an unexceptionable mode of taxing personal, as well as real property, the labours of the financier would be greatly diminished: this however is very difficult to find out.

Personal property consists of every article that has not been mentioned under the head of real, including money, cloths, furniture, &c.

Sir Robert Walpole used to say, that it was much safer to tax the landed, than the trading interest; for landed gentlemen were like the flocks upon their plains, who suffer themselves to be shorn without resistance, whereas the trading part of the nation resemble the boar, who will not suffer a bristle to be plucked from his back, without making the whole parish to echo with his complaints. This may be the case in free states, and may be thus accounted for, that it is easier to pay a tax for property that one has, than for what one is only acquiring.

* Lipsius de Constant. l. ii. c. 23. p. 210, 211. Wanley's Hist. of Man, book iv. c. 33.

† Melmoth's Cicero, vol. iii. p. 348. Strabo, l. iii.

As it has always been accounted a matter attended with peculiar difficulty, to levy a tax on the interest of money, the following plan established in Scotland for that purpose, is well entitled to consideration.

By the modes there adopted, each person who had money at interest, was ordered to appear at certain courts, to deliver into the clerk, inventories, first, of the money due to him, the interest he received, and the names of the debtors; secondly of the money he was due himself, the interest he paid, and the names of the creditors, &c. which inventories were to be recorded, and three extracts made, one to be given to the party, another to the collector of the tax, and a third to the clerk of his Majesty's register: and if there was any balance, after deducting the interest they paid to others, one shilling in the pound was to be paid to the king. Tutors, curators, and guardians, were obliged to give in inventories for minors. For the sick, any responsible person might appear, and give in his inventory, but the sick person must subscribe it, or a notary for him. After the inventory is given in, if the creditor swears his debtor is bankrupt, the creditor was not liable for the tax. He who discovered any concealed interest, and revealed it, was to have the half of that term's interest; but if he accused wrongfully, he was to be punished. The tax was to be paid by the creditor, and if he endeavoured to make the debtor relieve him, he was to be punished for usury. The interest of colleges, and of poor people, was not to be taxed*.

Taxes are always increasing, hence, what was only 1-20th in James the sixth's time, in the reign of Charles the second, became 1-16th †. By the act, the interest if concealed, was divided into two parts; one half went to the informer, and the other half to the king.

In 1689, it was ordered in France, that all plate should be carried to the mint. The resource was inconsiderable ‡.

Hume, in his "discourse of the balance of trade," thinks the tax on plate impolitic in Britain, for various reasons therein mentioned, and it has since been abolished.

It seems there was a tax upon carriages at Rome, for Nerva took off a very rigorous and heavy tax upon them §.

In Denmark, those who cultivate the land, if they are not particularly privileged, pay a tax upon horses, which is about 1s. 2d. every year for every tun of hart corn, equal to about six English acres ||.

The king's bailiffs, their secretaries, and indeed all the king's officers, and those who live in privileged manors, if they keep horses, pay 4s. English, for each stable, where the horses are kept ¶.

The tax on dogs, now established in Great Britain, may also be included among the duties on personal property **.

* Scotch Acts, vol. i. p. 937.

† Scotch Acts, vol. ii. p. 8. an. 1633.

‡ Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. c. 202. of the Finances. For many curious anecdotes regarding plate, see Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 172.

§ Goldf. Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 295. This tax was reckoned very oppressive, and was taken away by Nerva, An. Un. Hist. vol. xv. p. 108, 320.

|| Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 394.

¶ Williams's North. Govern. vol. i. p. 395.

** The Persians were, uncommonly fond of dogs. See Bayle's Dict. vol. vi. p. 343. note D.

CHAP. VII.

Taxes on Real or Personal Property when transferred.

As property cannot always remain in the same hands, when it comes to be transferred, many consider a proper time for taxing it.

Property may be transferred, by public sale or auction, by private sale, or by will.

In Holland, no person can draw his money out of the funds, or sell his estate, without losing considerably, in consequence of a tax of 6 per cent, and in some cases of 10 per cent, which the States have laid upon all transfers and alienations of property*.

Taxes on Auctions.

A tax on auctions was originally established at Rome; it afterwards took place in Holland, whence it has been transferred to England.

In Switzerland they had a tax called *Le Lod*, or *Le Lot*, which is a fine amounting to 1-6th part of the full value of any parcel of land estate, payable upon every sale by the buyer, to the sovereign†. If paid by the buyer, one year after the purchase, it would not much hurt the seller; at any rate, this seems to be no bad tax, as a punishment upon those who extravagantly waste their estates.

Caligula remitted the tax of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent upon all goods sold by auction‡.

Taxes on Property transferred by Private Sale.

The famous alcavalla of Spain, is a tax of this nature, being a certain duty paid to the king, every time that property is sold.

The Lampsaceni, when they wanted money, took this course to raise it. They imposed a further rate than usual upon all vendible things; so that the seller reserved to himself what was the former price of the commodities, but what was over and above was paid to the public§.

Caius Manlius the consul, by a new example, propounded a law in his camp at Sutrium, by which the 20th part of the value of all slaves manumitted or sold, was paid to the treasury; and as by this law a great addition was made to their impoverished exchequer, the senate agreed to sanction it. This law was abrogated by Nero, in the beginning of his reign, that he might thereby be the more gracious with the people||.

Taxes on Inheritance, or Property transferred by Will.

Julius Cæsar, when prætor, enacted many laws which were confirmed during his consulship. By one of these the public treasury was intitled to 1-20th part of all goods, moveable, or immoveable, left to strangers, in preference to, or in prejudice of natural heirs¶.

* William's Northern Government, vol. i. p. 116.

† Account of Switzerland, p. 172.

‡ Suet. in Calig. cap. 16. Instituted, as Dio. l. xxvii. cap. 20. says, by Tiberius.

§ Pet. Greg. l. iii. c. 6. p. 57. Wanley's History of Man, book iv. chap. 33.

|| Liv. l. vii. p. 126. Suet. in Neron. c. x. p. 237. Wanley's Hist. of Man, b. iv. c. 33.

¶ Bundy's Rom. Hist. vol. vi. p. 71. note 46. This was also decreed by Augustus, but abolished by Nerva. An. Un. Hist. vol. xv. p. 107.

No tax seems to be more just than on the transfer of property, from the dead to the living. For in the first place it is only in consequence of the establishment of a regular government, that any person enjoys that high prerogative of leaving his property to any one he pleases; therefore, if that government requires to be supported, none ought to contribute so much as those whose wills it executes after they are dead: In the second place, the tax is not paid until a person receives property to enable him to do it: and in the third place, when a person first receives property, he is more willing to give away a part of it for the public service, than when he has enjoyed it for some time.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Taxes on Income.

Property may be defined, the capital stock which any individual possesses: Whereas income, is the stock that he acquires within any particular space of time, as a month or year.

Income may be derived from the following sources: 1. From real or personal property, as land, money, &c. 2. From the exercise of any profession; and 3. from the revenues of the public.

1. *Taxes on Income from Real or from Personal Property* *.

This subject has been already treated of in separate chapters; and the propriety of attempting to raise a tax on income in general, was discussed in the preceding volume†. On the question at large it has been remarked, that the ability of a state to raise supplies, consists not in the largeness of its income, but in the proportion of its expence, to its income. For taxes can only arise out of the savings of individuals; and the question therefore is, not what a state has, but what it can spare. Hence a nation may be both rich and poor; rich in income, but poor through extravagance, this is the consequence of great luxury, for thus individuals spending all upon themselves, have little to spare for the public‡.

2. *Taxes on Income from Professional Employments*.

Many individuals, who have neither real nor personal property in their possession, yet may acquire a considerable annual income, by means of their skill and industry in a variety of professions. This furnishes a means of taxation for three different purposes. 1. It may be the means of increasing considerably the public revenue. 2. It may be so imposed as to discourage such professions as are prejudicial to the public, and promoting such as are useful; and 3. It may prevent any unreasonable profit being exacted by those, who are employed in the more lucrative professions; by taxing them in some degree according to the amount of their dealings, and the extent of their profit.

Caligula, among a number of new and unheard-of tributes, resolved to exact the eighth part of the daily gains of porters, and a portion of what common prostitutes earned by their infamous profession§.

* In Saxony a tax of ten per cent is levied upon income in general. This makes land estates very low. *Modern Travels*, vol. iii. p. 83, 84, 85. † Vol. ii. p. 230.

‡ Brown's *Estimate*, vol. i. p. 194. But if a state is rich, it may raise a revenue, by a judicious system of taxation, which may operate as a check upon private extravagance.

§ Suet. in *Calig.* c. xl. p. 139. Wansley's *Hist. of Man*, l. iv. c. 33.

The Chrysargyrum, including the Vesigal Urina.

Anastasius abolished the scandalous tribute called Chrysargyrum, imposed, not only upon the heads of all persons throughout the empire, barlots, beggars, and slaves not excepted: but it was also laid upon horses, mules, dogs, asses, oxen, nay, dung itself, and levied every fourth year with all the rigour imaginable. This raised a general murmur among the people, who were with difficulty restrained from rebellion*.

This tax being levied upon those who sold any thing of how little value soever, even dung, hence it was called "*The Gold of Tribulation*." To pay it, parents were often obliged to sell their children after they had been stripped of every thing else †.

This tax was probably first levied by Vespasian. Alexander Severus was ashamed to suffer money, thus raised, to be lodged in the exchequer, but ordered it to be kept apart, and to be employed in repairing the public edifices.

Constantine the Great, to save charges, ordered it to be levied every four or five years. Hence his enemy Zosimus accuses him of being the author of it ‡.

Theodosius the Younger, suppressed this infamous tribute, anno 439, but it was revived through the avarice of his successors. Anastasius however thinking this tax both shameful to the prince and burthensome to the people, utterly abolished it; and to prevent its being ever revived, caused all the papers regarding it to be publicly burnt in the circus §.

This action was truly great and heroic, and capable of covering the many faults which have been laid to the charge of Anastasius.

The emperor was induced to propose the abolition of the chrysargyrum to the senate, from the perusal of a tragedy written by Timotheus of Gaza, on the subject of that tax ||.

It is singular, that a tax, regarding which, every paper was burnt, should be so particularly well known.

In fact, it seems to have been a tax upon professions.

When Vespasian was found fault with by his son Titus, for having exacted a tax upon urine, he held the first money which was got in by that tax to his nose, and asked, if the smell offended him, when Titus answered, that it did not; well, says the emperor, yet it came from urine. There are great doubts regarding the nature of this tax ¶.

Beroaldus thinks, that this mean tax was raised from fullers, and laid on them, as they were accustomed to use a great quantity of urine. Some imagine that amphoræ were placed in narrow lanes, and in the corners of the streets, and that such as made use of this convenience, had a penny exacted from them, as some old verses of one Titius seem to indicate**.

There was also a tax laid upon horse dung by Vespasian. Jzetzes, an author quoted by Calaubon, says, that all kind of filth was taxed. See Cedrenus's

* Echard's Rom. Hist. vol. v. p. 17. Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 191.

† Theoph. p. 366. Evag. l. iii. c. 39. Zof. l. ii. p. 691.

‡ l. ii. p. 691, but erroneously as Evag. proves, l. iii. c. 40. p. 370.

§ Evag. l. iv. c. 39. p. 368. Cod. Theod. ii. 5. §. 2. 4.

|| Cedrenus, p. 357. says, that there were two kinds; one paid by the poor slaves, prostitutes, &c. for themselves, and a second for their horses, mules, &c. See An. Un. Hist. vol. xvi. p. 604, and 605.

¶ See Suet. in Vesp. c. xxiii. and the notes thereon.

** Macrob. lib. iii. cap. 17. as also some verses of Lucretius. Juvenal takes notice of some offices-houses kept in the same way, in his Third Satire.

description of the Chrysargyrum in Anastasio. Juvenal refers to the anecdote of Vespasian in Sat. XIV. Dio. in Vesp. takes notice of this tax on Urine*.

Licence Taxes.

The idea of licensing individuals to exercise different professions, and taxing them for that licence, were it possible to levy such taxes on just and equitable principles, would not be an improper mode of raising a revenue. Of this system of taxation various instances occur.

By an act as far back as the 12th Ch. II. c. 25. the crown was allowed to raise a revenue by granting licences for selling wine by retail, except in a few privileged places†.

When a duty was laid upon sales by auction, it was also thought necessary to lay a tax upon auctioneers, with a view of preventing improper persons from being engaged in an employment which might enable them to impose upon the public.

The tax upon tea dealers shews how useful, by proper management, a tax upon professions might become. It is well known, with what disadvantages the present duties upon tea are attended, being a great source of smuggling upon our coasts; perhaps a large proportion of that might be raised, by taxing, according to their respective quantum of trade, the thirty-five thousand tea dealers in Great-Britain.

In Canada, a permission, or *licence* was granted every year, to twenty-five persons to trade with the Indians beyond the limits of the colony. The money that was not given away for this patent, which was sold, was put into the coffers of the public‡.

3. Taxes on Income from the Public.

The individuals who are employed in the service of the public are, in too many countries, paid proportionably so much beyond what others receive for similar exertions, that it is no wonder they should be much exposed to the jealousy of their fellow citizens.

One reason for it may be this, that they obtain their offices often at once, without going through that labour which other individuals are obliged to undergo, before they can acquire a similar income.

It often happens, that those who share in the government of a state, contrive to render public employments more lucrative than they ought to be: and in England, a clamour having been raised on that account, with a view of satisfying the people, a tax was laid upon the salaries of public officers, first of one shilling, and afterwards, of sixpence in the pound, upon all salaries, pensions,

* Jætztes in versibus suis politicus Chil. i. hist. 11. relates the anecdote as if the money arose from dung. But Theodore Marcellus in his notes says, that Theologifer, i. e. Tertullian speaks of this tax with more decency, telling us that it was laid upon the worts of every kind of drink, not on the fullers, or vessels laid upon the streets. See Micael Glycas in Anast. Zozimus, lib. ii. in Constantino. Evagoras, chap. xxxix. and xl. lib. 3. says this tax was abolished by Constantine. I think it most probable, that what was contained in the amphore was sold for the public benefit, to the fullers. See in Republic of Letters for Feb. 1728. vol. i. art. xi. p. 155. some observations upon this subject. The Roman Censors, says Dio. Hal. drew a revenue from the common sewers and got by that means 1000 talents;—they do the same at Brussels. See Misson's Travels, vol. iv. p. 525.

† Black. vol. i. p. 288. On licensing inns, see Lord Bacon's works, vol. iv. p. 648. letter 95, and the note.

‡ Raynal, b. xv. p. 60, 61, 62, 63.

fees, and perquisites of office, payable by the crown, over and above the annual tax of 4*s.* in the pound, to which every description of income, including that from the crown, is subject.

Perhaps this might be the fittest mode of diminishing originally the amount of such salaries, pensions, &c. but there is a palpable absurdity in a government, first giving salaries and pensions with one hand, and with the other taking a part of them away. Instead of employing persons to collect such a revenue, it would be much better in every point of view, to diminish the salary or pension at once. This would prevent the expence of unnecessary officers; the awkwardness to which individuals are subjected, when they are supposed to receive a greater income than they actually do; and would also prevent the suspicious jealousy of the people, who, when they hear a clamour raised against great salaries, and extravagant pensions, do not consider what heavy deductions must be made from them, and are apt to think the expences of the state enormous, or at least greater than they actually are.

When the appointments and pensions of ministers are not occasionally increased, they are received at a great disadvantage, money having been raised nominally near half its value, and the price of goods more than half *.

In regard to income from the public by means of pensions, it is very questionable, how far any individual, or his family, except for very important services indeed, is entitled to be maintained at the public expence.

In ancient times, the merit of individuals was certainly rewarded, at the expence of the public treasury.

Aristides the Just, was thus rewarded by the Athenians. He was buried at the public expence. His son Lyfimachus obtained 100 minæ of silver, and 100 acres of land, with a daily pension of 4 drachmæ (about 2*s.* 6*d.*) which, in those days, was accounted a considerable sum. Lyfimachus's daughter, Polycrite, was ordered the same subsistence with those who had conquered at the Olympic games. Aristides's daughters had 3000 drachmæ each, by way of portion allowed out of the treasury †.

Both rewards and punishments are too little attended to in modern times, though a proper distribution of them was one great cause of ancient virtue and patriotism.

Phocion, some time after his death, had a statue of brass erected to his memory by the Athenians, and his remains were buried at the public expence ‡.

When Cicero was banished, his houses were demolished, but when he returned, they were rebuilt at the public expence. His house at Rome cost 11,000*l.* his Tusculan villa, about 3,000*l.* and his Formian, about 1,500*l.* §.

But Arbuthnot || says, that the outside of his house was valued at 16,145*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* and that his Tusculan villa was sold for 5852*l.* 17*s.* 3½*d.* both at under rates ¶.

* See other observations on this subject, Volt. Age of Louis XIV. c. 102, of the Finances. Also a paragraph as to the pay of soldiers continuing the same, and another, as to the salaries of offices being diminished in value, whilst the middling ranks are richer. In the Austrian Government the salaries of the ministers of state continue the same, which furnishes little inducement to men of ability to direct their attention to politics.

† Plur. vol. ii. p. 450.

‡ Ibid. vol. v. p. 43.

§ Ibid. vol. v. p. 309.

|| On Coins, p. 149.

¶ See Cicero's Epistle, lib. iv. and do. lib. i. Cicero's House at Rome cost 350,000 sesterces, about 28,000*l.* (Cicero's Letters, vol. i. p. 21. lib. i. letter 5.) Melmoth says, that Cicero's town and country house were estimated at 22,000*l.* so low, that it was said that those who had clipped his wings, were not disposed to let them grow again. Melmoth's Cicero's letters, vol. i. p. 162.

Servius Sulpicius, who died in his embassy to Antony from the senate, was decreed a statue of brass, and a funeral, at the public expence *.

In the time of the second Carthaginian war, Scipio's daughters were portioned at the public expence at eleven m. eris, or 35*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* †.

Antoninus Pius withdrew pensions from many who lived idly, saying that nothing was more shameful and cruel, than that they should prey upon the public, who contributed nothing by their labour to the support of the state; or in the words of Bayle, to suffer the commonwealth to be consumed by those who were of no service to it ‡.

Alexander Severus was used to say, that the sovereign rules ill, who maintains the useless by the industry of the useful; and that it was highly criminal for a public steward to spend in his own pleasures, and in those of his favourites, the revenues of the state §.

CHAP. IX.

The Customs ||.

We come now to explain a very general and important branch of public revenue, to which, notwithstanding all the disadvantages with which it is accompanied, statesmen are too apt to have recourse, and to carry to a height, which is attended with the most pernicious consequences. It is well known, that a public revenue cannot be raised to any extent, without the advantages of trade, and yet statesmen act, like the foolish clown, who cut down the tree, in order to gather the fruit; or like the woman in the fable, who killed the hen that laid her eggs of gold, in order to become mistress at once of all the wealth she wished to be possessed of.

The first tax on exportation we read of in ancient history, was in Egypt. That country was famous for horses and chariots, in so much that the king laid a tax of 600 shekels, (which at bishop Cumberland's calculation of 2*s.* 3*d.* a shekel, would amount to 67*l.* 10*s.*) for every chariot exported, and for every horse 150 shekels, or at the same rate, 16*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* sterling. Solomon, in Patrick's opinion, prevailed upon his father-in-law the king of Egypt, to accept a certain sum in lieu of this tax, and thus he could sell chariots and horses cheaper to the Syrians, &c. than the Egyptians themselves, who had no such privileges. But I think it impossible that so high a tax could be paid. The sums stated appear to be the price at which they were sold by Solomon, which afforded him an ample profit, after paying their price, the expences of bringing them, and any duty that might be paid when they were exported ¶.

The customs of Alexandria, are computed to have yielded annually 1,627,500*l.* sterling **. The rate of the duties exacted varied. Sometimes it

* Philippic 5, 6. Midd. Cicero, vol. iii. p. 152.

† Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 115.

‡ Bayle's Dict. vol. ii. p. 351, note E.

§ August. Hist. vol. i. p. 202, note E.

|| The Customs and Excise may be thus distinguished. The Customs is a duty levied upon goods, when exported from, or imported into, a State; and always payable at its confines; whereas Excise are inland taxes upon goods and commodities, whether produced in the state itself, or brought from abroad. Both are properly taxes on consumption, either foreign, when laid on goods exported, or domestic, if on importations, or articles of domestic produce or manufacture.

¶ 1 Kings, c. 10. v. 29. Patrick's Comm. vol. ii. p. 413.

** Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 195.

only amounted to a 40th or 50th part, and in some instances, to very near the half of the value of the whole goods *.

The Cumæans were wise enough to leave their port free, and laid no duty upon the merchandize imported into their harbour. This Strabo mentions as an instance of that stupidity which was their general character; whereas it was a sign of great political wisdom, for it was the best method of bringing the trade, and making them a flourishing people †.

It is a common observation, that whenever a sovereign interferes in commercial affairs, the subject is seldom any great gainer by such interference; and is not desirous of risking any considerable capital, under the direction of a power by whom he may be deprived of all the fruits of his labours in a moment. The case is much the same, where trade is burdened with high customs ‡.

One miserable effect attending high customs, is the encouragement it gives to smuggling, and all the consequences resulting therefrom.

The empress Elizabeth, during her last illness, ordered from 13,000 to 14,000 poor people, who were confined in the different prisons of the kingdom for smuggling, to be set at liberty, and all their effects which had been confiscated, to be restored to them; the laws of Russia being very severe against smugglers §.

Among the Danish taxes which are collected in the towns, that which is paid at the custom-house, for the importation and exportation of all kinds of merchandizes, of what nature soever, is one of the principal; this heavy tax is farmed in every part of the Danish dominions, except at Copenhagen, and the contract is renewed every three years. On an average, the duties upon the importation of merchandizes into this kingdom, are about 10 per cent. Some articles are not rated altogether so high, and others are still higher; all such articles as are used in the manufactures, are exempt from this tax, but the merchants are obliged to leave them at the custom-house, or in the king's warehouses, till they are bought up by the manufacturers, by which the former are subject to great inconveniencies, and often losses. Such foreign merchandizes as are brought into the kingdom, in Danish ships, pay much less duties than when they are entered from foreign vessels ¶.

The duties in Holland upon the importation and exportation of merchandizes are very low, which is considered to be a great advantage to the trade of that country.

From the lowness of these duties, and the easiness of paying them, both strangers and natives are invited to bring great quantities of merchandize there, not only as to a market, but as to a great magazine, where they may be lodged till they are demanded for other markets; so that in fact, Amsterdam and Rotterdam are filled with the natural commodities and manufactured goods of every part of the whole world ¶¶.

* Arbuthnot on Coins, chap. 18.

† Lang. Plut. vol. iv. (note) p. 393, and Alex. ab. Alexan. vol. i. p. 1039. note 5. The Cumæans it is said in this note, laid a tax upon merchandize imported for 200 years in order to build the city, and continued to pay it afterwards, when it was built, which is given as an instance of stupidity. I suppose the Langhorns are wrong; for this respected Cuma of Eolia, and not of Italy. The Cumæans having borrowed money on the public credit, in order to build a portico, and not being able to pay it at the day appointed, their creditors shut it up, and would not allow them to walk in it.

‡ See the fatal consequences of Prince Gagarine's taxes and exactions, Williams's North. Govern. vol. ii. p. 184 and 185.

§ Williams's North. Govern. vol. ii. p. 231.

¶ Ibid. vol. i. p. 396.

¶¶ Ibid. vol. i. p. 106 and 116.

CHAP. X.

The Excise.

Excises, or taxes upon inland consumption, are not without many strenuous advocates. It is said, that it is impossible, by all the various means above-mentioned, to get at the real property or income of individuals: But that by taxing the commodities they consume, every person will probably pay his fair proportion of the public expence.

The excises at Rome were innumerable. One of the earliest, was the tax on salt, first established by Ancus Martius *.

It is certain that there was a tax on, or monopoly of, salt at Rome, even in Tarquin's time; but it was afterwards abolished. It was renewed by Servius, when censor, anno urbis 549. Hence he had the name of Salinator.

In the Canton of Berne, salt is a very considerable source of revenue. It is purchased wholesale by the sovereign at a fixed price every year, and sold in retail to the subjects with considerable profit †.

A tax on salt seems also to have been an old tax even in Russia; for it is said, that in the reign of Alexis Michaelowitz, who began to reign anno 1645, a new tax was laid upon salt, which drove the inhabitants of Moscow to desperation ‡.

The empress Elizabeth ordered that 1,500,000 roubles should be diminished of the tax arising from salt, because it was an article of the first necessity for the common people §.

Augustus established an excise of one per cent. upon all vendible commodities, as a fund for rewarding the veteran soldiers. This excise, as usual, occasioned great complaints ||.

It would appear that the Romans had an excise on the sale of fruit; at least it was levied in Judea ¶.

Modern Excises.

At Naples **, the gabels are very high upon oil, wine, tobacco, and every thing that can be eaten, drank, or worn. There was like to have been one upon fruit. Fowl and game are free, whilst beef pays a third, and veal a tenth of its price to government.

At Rome, the tax is not upon the land, but the corn it produces, which makes it insupportable ††.

The revenues of Amsterdam, principally arise from excises on all sort of commodities consumed within its precincts ‡‡.

* Arbuthnot on Coins, ch. 18. From *sal* comes *salarium*, or salary.

† Account of Switzerland, p. 164 and 172.

‡ Williams's North. Governments, vol. ii. p. 78.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 231. Tax on Salt in Poland, vol. ii. p. 654.

|| An. Un. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 108. Sent in August. c. 49. Suet. in August. l. ii. c. 49. Suet. in Calig. cap. xxxviii. xxxix. and xl. says that there was a tax *pro edulis*, i. e. a certain fixed tax upon all eatables which were sold in the city.

¶ An. Un. Hist. vol. x. p. 623.

** Addison's Travels, p. 126.

†† Ibid. p. 114.

‡‡ Williams's Northern Governments, vol. i. p. 57.

Heavy taxes are imposed even upon the necessities of life, so that their prices are greatly increased. Indeed the consumer must pay between 50 and 60 per cent. upon the prime cost, owing to the different excises and duties on importation raised on all the grain imported into the country before he can eat his bread; and beef and mutton cannot be eat in any part of the Seven Provinces, before the consumer pays between one penny and three halfpence per pound to the excise *.

In Prussia, a tax of near 40 per cent. is laid upon all eatables; also soap, candles, &c †.

It was proposed, in the assembly of the states of Denmark, which began in September 1660, to lay a tax upon every thing that was consumed. But the nobles, who proposed it, would only consent to pay this tax when they were in towns, and claimed the privilege of being exempted in the country, nor would they consent to it for more than three years. This insolent declaration so much enraged the other parts of the assembly, that it occasioned the famous alteration in the constitution of that country, by which the king was rendered absolute ‡.

Another very considerable branch of the king's revenue, which is collected in the towns, is the excise, which is laid, as in Holland, upon every necessary of life. This oppressive tax is likewise farmed, and even grain itself, though it has already paid a tax in the country, yet it pays again when it comes to the mill.

It would be too tedious to enumerate the various excises imposed in this country, on every necessary of life §.

The preceding account of the various modes of raising an income for the public, affords matter for curious and important speculation. It thence appears, how unwilling individuals are, to part with their property to the public, and the various arts which statesmen have invented for obtaining a share of their wealth. It furnishes the reader at the same time with an account of the many absurd and injurious methods which have at various periods of history been adopted, of raising a revenue ||; and what little difficulty there would be in raising a sufficient income, were the rulers of a state moderate in their demands, and attentive to the trust committed to them. But then exactions and avarice on the one hand, and the natural suspicion and jealousy of the people on the other, counteracting each other, is attended with many mischievous consequences.

The jealousy of the people may be founded upon two grounds. 1. They may apprehend that each individual does not pay his fair and equal proportion of the taxes levied; and 2, that the quantum paid, is not properly and frugally expended. The first cause is the reason, why contributions from the property of individuals, instead of being voluntarily given, must be legally exacted: and if a jealousy regarding the second point, namely, the public expenditure, exists; if it is supposed that the faces of the poor are ground, in order to support the

* Williams's Northern Governments, vol. i. p. 119 and 120.

† Modern Travels, vol. iii. p. 72. See farther observations regarding the excises in that kingdom. Do. p. 59.

‡ Williams's Northern Governments, vol. i. p. 294.

§ Williams's Northern Governments, vol. i. p. 396 and 397.

|| Perhaps I may be accused, in the strong words of Lord Verulam (Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 300. speech 39, as to a subsidy,) "*of digging up the sepulchre of buried, and forgotten impossibilities*;" but to carry on the metaphor, where the corpse is rotten and offensive, it will be buried with greater marks of ignominy, or with greater infamy and disgrace.

idle pageantry of a court, or to carry on unnecessary and expensive wars, or for the purpose of being wasted in other extravagant expences; it is hardly possible but that suspicions of such a description, once generally given way to, must end in tumult and disorder, if not in a total dissolution of the society.

Were the governors of a state never to give any well-founded reason of suspicion to their subjects, either that all were not equally taxed, or that their property was not frugally managed, we should not hear of such frequent revolutions in human affairs.

BOOK V.

Public Loans.

THIS book should have contained an account of every species of public loan, whether compulsive or voluntary, but as this subject has been already explained in a former part of this work, (see vol. i. p. 341.) it is unnecessary to enter into it upon the present occasion. It may be sufficient to observe, that that chapter, and the preceding observations, contains a sketch of all the various modes of furnishing a supply to the public exchequer of a country, which the author could discover.

To complete the foundation of every essential inquiry into financial subjects, little then remains to be added, but a view of the revenue of the most celebrated states in ancient and in modern times, and an account of the different authors who have written on that interesting topic. But these are points, which the author has not leisure at present to explain, in a manner that would be at all satisfactory.

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE often thought, that a plan might be formed, by which human knowledge, regarding the most useful branches of inquiry, might be condensed within a much narrower compass than at present, so as to diminish the necessity of perusing the innumerable volumes now extant, regarding the same subject, and by which men in general might be better informed, and consequently would be the better enabled to enjoy the pleasures of their existence, than can now be the case. The system I had formed for that purpose, will be at once comprehended, by any person who has taken the trouble of perusing the preceding financial details.

In the Analysis of the sources of Public Revenue above contained, I have endeavoured to lay before the reader, an account of almost every possible means of furnishing supplies to the treasury of a country. The work at present is merely a sketch, comprehending at the same time the outlines of every important particular connected with finance. Let us suppose that the British, or any other government, were desirous of making itself thoroughly master of so interesting a political subject*. Were such an analysis translated into the different European languages, and were premiums offered to those, whether natives or foreigners, who furnished the completest treatises on the subject in their respective countries, and were all those treatises, after being printed, ultimately condensed, and reduced into a regular system, by a person thoroughly master of such inquiries, the result would be, *a code of finance*, which would render any farther discussion regarding those points almost unnecessary. Upon the same

* The French government, some years ago, directed their ambassadors at the several courts in Europe, to ascertain the mode of raising a revenue in the various countries where they resided; their reports are printed, but are very defective, having no foundation or system laid for the inquiries they made.

principles, and by following the same system, there might be a *code of agriculture*, a *code of arts*, a *code of commerce*, a *code of morals*, a *code of the principles of law*, a *code of medicine*, a *code for the preservation of health*. In short all useful knowledge might be so systematized, that the species at large might be enabled to enjoy more real pleasure, and would soon become a wiser and happier race of beings, than it is possible for them to be, without enjoying the advantages with which they would thus be furnished.

Alas! when will there arise a ruler, anxious to improve, in regard to all these important particulars, the circumstances of the people he governs? or when will there be found a private individual, possessed of an enlarged mind, as well as of an extensive fortune, desirous of immortalising his memory, by assisting in carrying through measures, so essential for the comfort of the individual, the prosperity of his own country, and the general happiness of mankind*.

* It would require an expence of from 10,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* to complete each of the Codes above mentioned; so that a sum to the amount of about 100,000*l.* would execute the whole. Were it not for the heavy taxes to which this country is subject, I have no doubt, that such a sum might be raised, by private subscription, but the plan could never be so effectually carried into execution as under public authority.

APPENDIX.

No. II.

A CATALOGUE of the WORKS

Which have been printed in the English Language upon the Subject of Finance, together with a List of such Foreign Publications as regard the Revenue of this Empire.

THERE is no country in Europe, in which the subject of revenue has been so frequently the topic of discussion, as in Great Britain. In France, where no branch of literature is neglected, and where political investigations are the particular objects of attention, until of late years, the works on finances were few in number. In the catalogue *d'une Bibliothèque d'Economie Politique*, given us by Abbé Morellet*, there are only sixty-nine printed papers which relate either to revenue in general, or to particular taxes, of which but thirty-six in all are written in the French language. The Pere Le Long, who has drawn up, in five volumes folio, a complete list of every work regarding the history or political situation of France, has increased the number on finance to one hundred and eighty-five; but then forty *manuscripts* are included†. The works respecting revenue in the other languages of Europe are not very numerous. Even the German, so prolific with regard to other matters, only possesses about thirty-five of any real note; a list of which, very obligingly furnished to me by the late learned and ingenious Comte de Zinzendorf, *Président de la Chambre des Finances à Vienne*, is added to this part of the Appendix.

In drawing up the following catalogue, the mode of arrangement came to be a matter of difficulty. Some would probably have preferred an alphabetical order; but, on the whole, it was thought more advisable to divide the works according to the size of the book, and to preserve the order of time, as the best means of giving a connected view of the progress of this branch of English political literature.

It is farther to be remarked, that in addition to the following works, there are many others in the English language where questions of finance are incidentally treated of, and from which much useful information may be obtained; more especially the journals of the two Houses, and the reports of the different committees appointed by them—the debates of parliament—the tracts principally collected from Lord Somers's library—the *Harleian Miscellany*—the *Craftsman*—the *Monitor*—the *Reviews*, and other periodical publications—and a variety of books relating to the prin-

* In the *Prospectus d'un Nouveau Dictionnaire de Commerce*, printed at Paris, an. 1769.

† See *Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, par Jacques Le Long, tom. second. liv. 3. art. 5. A Paris, an. 1769.

ciples of government in general, and to the history, the antiquities, the laws, the commerce, and constitution of this country in particular. But to enumerate all these publications, would be entering into a much wider field than seems to be at all necessary, and would require what the *Bibliotheca Legum*, or the catalogue of the common and statute law books of this realm boasts of, namely, *the experience of forty years* in order to present such a list in the most eligible form to the public*.

On the whole, numerous as this collection is, many additions may be made to it; the Author having given only a list of such publications as he has collected for his own library, and proposes to make use of, should he ever be enabled to compile, what he would consider as the greatest present that he, or any man could offer to the public, namely, a complete view of the origin and progress of the finances of Great Britain, and Ireland, from the remotest era of our history to the present time. Should he never be enabled to perfect such a work himself, he has at least the satisfaction of thinking, that he has furnished any other person who may chuse to attempt it, with information and materials.

BOOKS.

FOLIO.

- 1 Proposals humbly presented to his highness Oliver, Lord Protector of England, for the calling to a just account all committee men, sequestrators, treasurers, excise and custom commissioners, and all other persons that have been entrusted with the public revenue. By Thomas Violet, of London, goldsmith. London, printed an. 1656.
- 2 Fodinez Regales; or, the history, laws, and places of the chief mines and mineral works in England, Wales, and the English pale in Ireland, as also of the mint and money. By Sir John Pettus, knt. London, printed an. 1670.
- 3 A discourse of the growth of England in populousness and trade since the reformation. Of the clerical revenue, and the same asserted to be reasonable and necessary here. Of the necessity of future public taxes for the support of the government and our religion, &c. &c. by way of letter to a person of honour. London, printed an. 1689.
- 4 The history and antiquities of the exchequer of the kings of England, from the Norman conquest to the end of the reign of King Edward the Second. By Thomas Madox, Esq. London, printed an. 1711.
- 5 A collection of treatises relating to the national debts and funds, the first of them dated 11th April, 1717, and the last October 30th, 1719. And also a collection of treatises relating to the South Sea stock and scheme. By Archibald Hutcheson, esq. London, printed an. 1721.
- 6 An abstract of all the public debts remaining due at Michaelmas 1722, and an estimate of the annual sinking fund towards the discharge of the same. By Archibald Hutcheson, esq. London, printed an. 1723.
- 7 Calculations relative to an act of parliament for establishing a fund to provide for the widows and children of the ministers of the Church of Scotland. By the Rev. Dr. Webster. Edinburgh, printed an. 1748.

* See Worrall's *Bibliotheca Legum*, Advertisement to edit. 1777.

- 8 The history of the public revenue from the revolution in 1688, to Christmas, 1758. By James Postlethwaite, F.R.S. London, printed an. 1759.
- 9 Public accounts of services and grants from the year 1721, to the year 1770. By Sir Charles Whitworth. London, printed an. 1771.
- 10 Tables shewing the value of an annuity of 1*l.* payable quarterly for the lives of persons from 25 to 73 ; together with a proposed bill relative thereto, for the better support of poor persons, by enabling parishes to grant them annuities for life. By Francis Maseres, esq. London printed (but not published) an. 1773.
- 11 State of the trade of Great Britain in its imports and exports progressively, from the year 1697. By Sir Charles Whitworth. London, printed an. 1776.
- 12 An account of the manors, &c. held by lease from the crown ; together with an appendix, containing the value of the land revenue in Queen Mary's time, and of the whole revenue of the crown in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. London, printed an. 1787.

PAMPHLETS.

FOLIO.

- 1 An account of the proceedings of the House of Peers upon the observations of the commissioners for stating the public accounts. London, printed an. 1702.
- 2 A true state of the South Sea scheme as it was first formed. London, printed an. 1721.
- 3 A letter to a member of parliament concerning the reduction of interest of the national debts. London, printed an. 1732.
- 4 The Golden Fleece. To which is added, a proposal for taking away many burthenfome duties on some of the most essential necessities in life, viz. leather, soap, candles, &c. printed an. 1733.
- 5 Some considerations relating to the intended bank new contract. London, printed an. 1742.
- 6 A state of the coal trade to foreign parts, with proposals for an additional duty on exportation. London, printed an. 1744-5.
- 7 A letter to the earl of Bute upon his union with the earl of Chatham, in support of the popular measure of a four shillings land tax. London, printed an. 1767.
- 8 An account of all monies which have been issued and paid out of the receipt of His Majesty's exchequer. London, printed an. 1769.
- 9 The state of the national debt, the national income, and the national expenditure. By John earl of Stair. London, printed an. 1776.
- 10 Reasons for the representatives of the people of Great Britain to take advantage of the present rate of interest, for the more speedy lessening the national debt, and taking off the most burdenfome of the taxes. Undated.

BOOKS.

QUARTO.

- 1 A treatise of the laws of the forest, wherein is declared not only those laws now in force, but also the original and beginning of forests, what benefit

- benefit doth grow to the King by the preservation of forests, &c. By John Manwood. London, printed an. 1598.
- 2 The history of the ancient and modern estate of the principality of Wales, dutchy of Cornwall, and earldom of Chester. By Sir John Dodridge. London, printed an. 1630.
 - 3 The liberty of the subject against pretended impositions, &c. By William Hakewill. London, printed an. 1641.
 - 4 The arguments of the judges in Mr. Hampden's case, in regard to ship money. London, printed an. 1641.
 - 5 Legeancia Lugens; or loyalty lamenting the many great mischiefs and inconveniencies which will fatally and inevitably follow the taking away of the royal pourveyances and tenures in capite and by knight service, which being ancient, and long before the conquest, were not then, or are now, any slavery, public or general grievance. By Fabian Philips. London, printed an. 1661.
 - 6 Restauranda; or the necessity of public repairs, by settling of a certain and royal yearly revenue for the King. By Fabian Philips. London, printed an. 1662.
 - 7 The antiquity, legality, reason, duty, and necessity of pre-emption and pourveyance, for the King, or composition for his pourveyance, as they were used and taken for the provisions of the King's household, the small charge and burthen thereof to the people, and the many great mischiefs and inconveniencies which will follow the taking of them away. By Fabian Philips. London, printed an. 1663.
 - 8 Regalæ Necessarium; or, the legality, reason, and necessity of the rights and privileges justly claimed by the King's servants. By Fabian Philips. London, printed, an. 1661.
 - 9 England's improvement by sea and land, to out-do the Dutch without fighting, and to pay debts without money. In two volumes. By Andrew Yarrington. London, printed an. 1677.
 - 10 Tables of interest, discount, annuities upon lives, &c. with problems as to compound interest. By John Smart. London, printed an. 1726.
 - 11 A new method of valuing annuities upon lives, &c. &c. By Richard Hayes. London, printed an. 1727.
 - 12 The arguments of lord Sommers on his giving judgment in the bankers' case, June 23d 1696. London, printed an. 1733.
 - 13 The ancient dialogue concerning the exchequer, published originally in Latin. By Thomas Madox, esq. London, printed an. 1758.
 - 14 Political tracts containing observations on the new cyder tax, &c. By J. Massie. London, printed an. 1760.
 - 15 The annual abstract of the sinking fund from Michaelmas 1718, to the 10th of October 1763. By a member of parliament. London, printed an. 1764.
 - 16 An inquiry into the principles of political economy; being an essay on the science of domestic policy in free nations, in which are particularly considered, population, agriculture, trade, public credit, taxes, &c. In two volumes. By Sir James Stewart, bart. London, printed an. 1767.
 - 17 A survey of the British customs, &c. By Samuel Baldwin. London, printed an. 1770.
 - 18 Sketches of the history of man, including considerations on taxes, and other political subjects. By Henry Hume, lord Kames. In two volumes. London, printed an. 1774.
 - 19 Political survey of Britain; being a series of reflections on the situation, lands, inhabitants, revenues, colonies, and commerce of this island. In

- In two volumes. By John Campbell, LL.D. London, printed an. 1774.
- 20 An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations. In two volumes. By Adam Smith, LL.D. London, printed an. 1776.
 - 21 The elements of commerce, politics, and finances. By Thomas Mortimer, esq. London, printed an. 1780.
 - 22 Original minutes of the governor general and council of Fort William, on the settlement and collection of the revenues of Bengal. By Philip Francis, esq. London, printed an. 1782.
 - 23 The principles of the doctrine of life annuities, containing observations on the national debt, and the most likely methods of paying off a part of it. By Francis Maseres, F. R. S. London, printed an. 1783.
 - 24 Reports of the commissioners for examining, taking, and stating the public accounts of the kingdom. Three volumes, London, printed an. 1783, 1785, &c.
 - 25 The encrease of manufactures, commerce and finance, with the extension of civil liberty, proposed in regulations for the interest of money. By William Playfair. London, printed an. 1785.
 - 26 The commercial and political atlas, representing by means of stained copper-plate charts the exports, imports, and general trade of England, together with some observations on the national debt, and on the operation of a sinking fund of one million, applied unalienably to its reduction. By William Playfair. London, printed an. 1785.
 - 27 Observations on the land revenue of the crown. By the honourable John St. John. London, printed an. 1787.
 - 28 The aggrandizement and national perfection of Great Britain; an humble proposal, comprehending the means of paying off the public debt of Great Britain within the space of thirty years, &c. By George Edwards, M. D. London, printed an. 1788.
 - 29 The elements of commerce, and theory of taxes. By dean Tucker. Printed, but not published, being intended only for the inspection of the author's friends.

PAMPHLETS.

QUARTO.

- 1 The Copy of his Majesty's letter, signifying his highness' pleasure to the commons house of parliament in the matter of subsidy. London, printed an. 1604.
- 2 A declaration of his Majesty's royal pleasure in what sort he thinketh fit to enlarge or reserve himself in matter of bounty. London, printed an. 1619.
- 3 Mittimus to the jubilee at Rome, or the rates of the pope's custom-house. London, printed an. 1625.
- 4 The case of ship money briefly discussed, according to the grounds of law, policy, and conscience. London, printed an. 1640.
- 5 A learned and necessary argument to prove that each subject has a property in his goods; shewing also the extent of the king's prerogative in impositions upon the goods of merchants exported and imported out of and into his kingdom. London, printed an. 1641.
- 6 Sir Thomas Rowe, his speech at the council table touching brass money, with many notable observations thereupon, July 1640. London, printed an. 1641.
- 7 An humble remonstrance against the tax of ship money lately imposed. By William Prynne, esq. Written 1636. London, printed an. 1643.

- 8 The vintners' answer to some scandalous pamphlets regarding the imposition laid on by the King, anno 1637. London, printed an. 1642.
 - 9 Ordinances of the lords and commons assembled in parliament for the levying of monies by way of excise, or *new impost*. London, printed an. 1643.
 - 10 The city alarm; whereunto is annexed a treatise of the excise. London, printed an. 1645.
 - 11 London's account; or a calculation of the arbitrary and tyrannical exactions, &c. during the four years of this unnatural war; what the total sum amounts to, &c. Imprinted in the year 1647.
 - 12 A legal vindication of the liberties of England against illegal taxes. By William Prynne, esq. London, printed an. 1649.
 - 13 An abstract, or brief declaration of the present state of his Majesty's revenue. Written in the reign of James I. London, printed an. 1651.
 - 14 Common good; or, the improvement of commons, forests and chaces by inclosure. By Silvanus Taylor. London, printed an. 1652.
 - 15 Lux in tenebris; or, a clavis to the treasury in Broad-street. London, printed an. 1654.
 - 16 A declaration against the illegal, detestable, oft condemned new tax and extortion of excise in general, and for hops (a native uncertain commodity) in particular. By William Prynne, esq. London, printed an. 1654.
 - 17 A case concerning the buying of bishops' lands, with the lawfulness thereof. London, printed an. 1655.
 - 18 A true relation of an imposition laid by the late King upon the manufactures of gold and silver wire. London, printed an. 1657.
 - 19 The charges issuing forth of the crown revenue of England and dominion of Wales. By captain Lazarus Haward. London, printed an. 1660.
 - 20 Offices and places of trust not to be bought or sold. London, printed an. 1660.
 - 21 A plea for the sequestered; or a survey of the case of the purchasers of public lands. London, printed an. 1660.
 - 22 No sacrilege nor sin to alienate or purchase cathedral lands, as such; or, a vindication of not only the late purchasers, but of the ancient nobility and gentry; yea of the crown itself, all deeply wounded by the false charge of sacrilege upon new purchasers. By C. Burgess, D.D. London, printed an. 1660.
 - 23 An answer to a paper, called the case of the auditors and receivers of his Majesty's revenue, with a brief description of the antient course of the exchequer for bringing in the crown revenues. London, printed an. 1662.
 - 24 Experimented proposals how the King may have money to pay and maintain his fleets with ease to his people. By Sir Edward Forde. London, printed an. 1666.
- N. B. This seems to have been the first proposal in favour of paper credit.
- 25 The use and abuses of money, and the improvements of it, whereby his Majesty's occasions may be supplied, &c. London, printed an. 1671.
 - 26 My lord Lucas, his speech upon reading the subsidy bill a second time in the presence of his Majesty. Middleburg, printed an. 1673.
 - 27 The grand concern of England explained, in several proposals for payment of public debts, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1673.
 - 28 The prevention of poverty, with certain expedients for encreasing his Majesty's revenue, by a method no way burthensome, but advantageous to the subject. By Richard Haines. London, printed an. 1674.

- 29 The book of rates now used in the fin custom-house of the church and court of Rome. By Antony Egane. London, printed an. 1674.
- 30 The case of the bankers and their creditors more fully stated and examined. London, printed an. 1675.
- 31 Proposals to increase trade and advance his Majesty's revenue, without any hazard or charge to any body, and with apparent profit to every body. By M. Lewis. London, printed an. 1677.
- 32 Reasons against a registry for lands, &c. London, printed an. 1678.
- 33 Proposals to the King and parliament; or, a large model of a bank, shewing how a fund of a bank may be made without much charge or any hazard, that may give out bills of credit to a vast extent, that all Europe will accept of rather than money. By Matthew Lewis, D. D. London, printed an. 1678.
- 34 Corporation credit; or a bank of credit made current by common consent in London, more useful and safe than money. London, printed an. 1681.
- 35 An account of the constitution and security of the general bank of credit. London, printed an. 1683.
- 36 Groans of the plantations; or a true account of their grievous and extreme sufferings by the heavy impositions upon sugar. London, printed an. 1689.
- 37 Discourses upon trade, principally directed to the cases of the interest, coinage, clipping, and increase of money. London, printed an. 1691.
- 38 England must pay the piper; a seasonable discourse about raising of money this session. In a letter to a member of the house of commons. London, printed an. 1694.
- 39 A compendious history of the taxes of France, and of the oppressive methods of raising them. London, printed an. 1694.
- 40 A brief account of the intended bank of England. London, printed an. 1694.
- 41 Angliæ tutamen; or the safety of England; being an account of the banks, lotteries, mines, diving, draining, lifting, and other engines, and many pernicious projects now on foot. By a person of honour. London, printed an. 1695.
- 42 A proposal for a national bank, consisting of land, or any other valuable securities or depositums, with a grand cash for returns of money, &c. By Robert Murray. London, printed an. 1695.
- 43 Rules, orders, and bye laws for the good government of the corporation of the governor and company of the bank of England. London, printed an. 1696.
- 44 The arguments and reasons for and against engrafting upon the bank of England with tallies, &c. as they were debated in a late general court of the said bank, considered in a letter to a friend. London, printed an. 1696.
- 45 The proposal for the raising of the silver coin of England from 60 pence in the ounce to 75 pence considered, with the consequence thereof. London, printed an. 1696.
- 46 A discourse upon coins. By signor Bernardo Davanzati. Translated out of Italian by John Toland. London, printed an. 1696.
- 47 Arguments and materials for a register of estates. Supposed to be written by the hon. Roger North. London, printed an. 1698.
- 48 A letter to a member of the late parliament concerning the debts of the nation. London, printed an. 1701.
- 49 The villainy of stock jobbers detected, and the causes of the late run upon the bank and bankers discovered and considered. London, printed an. 1701.

- 50 Jus regium; or, the King's right to grant forfeitures and other revenues of the crown, fully set forth, and traced from the beginning. London, printed an. 1701.
- 51 An essay concerning the necessity of equal taxes, and the dangerous consequences of the encouragement given to usury among us of late years. London, printed an. 1702.
- 52 The exorbitant grants of William the Third examined and questioned. London, printed an. 1703.
- 53 A discourse concerning plunder, wherein the legality of the same is proved by several precedents and arguments. By Thomas Heskith. London, printed an. 1703.
- 54 A Letter to a new member of the house of commons touching the rise of all the embezzlements and mismanagements of the kingdom's treasure, from the beginning of the revolution unto the present parliament. Amsterdam, printed an. 1710.
- 55 A view of the taxes, funds and public revenues of England. London, printed an. 1712. Reprinted an. 1743. (said to have been written by Harley, afterwards Lord Oxford.)
- 56 A scheme for advancing and improving the ancient and noble revenue of excise upon beer, ale, and other branches. By E. Dennistoun, gent. London, printed an. 1713.
- 57 Proposals for a very easy tax to raise between two and three millions of money per annum (if not a greater sum), in the room of the land tax, to begin to pay the public debts, and discharge the nation, not only from all those taxes that the two late expensive wars have loaded us with, but from all other taxes that are paid to her Majesty, in a few years time, with other happy consequences that will accrue to the kingdom in general, if it should be laid on and continued. By Ephraim Parker. London, printed an. 1713.
- 58 An abstract of the public funds granted and continued to the crown since the first of William and Mary, and still existing. Written by Mr. Apsill. London, printed an. 1715.
- 59 A method that will enable the government to pay off that part of the public debt which is redeemable by parliament, in much less time than the present methods will perform; together with a method of raising four millions per annum, as long as the war shall last, by issuing bills of credit. Printed an. 1715.
- 60 Some considerations offered against the continuance of the bank of England. In a letter to a member of the present parliament. London, printed an. 1715.
- 61 The directors of the bank of England enemies to the great interests of the kingdom, and also not just to the trust reposed in them by the adventurers, who chose them to do their best endeavours by all honest means for the advantage of the joint stock. London, printed an. 1715.
- 62 The ruin of the bank of England and all public credit inevitable, and the necessity in a short time of stopping the payments upon the several funds to the bank, South Sea Company, lotteries, &c. London, printed an. 1715.
- 63 An expedient to pay the public debts. With a letter to the king. By Stephen Barbier. London, printed an. 1719.
- 64 A general loan by act of parliament; or a farther improvement of the scheme to pay the public redeemable debts without real new taxes. London, printed an. 1720.
- 65 A letter to a member of parliament, wherein the unreasonableness and improbability of binding down the redeemables is fully demonstrated. London, printed an. 1721.

- 66 The case of John Aislebie, esq. regarding South Sea stock. London, printed an. 1721.
- 67 Index rerum et vocabulorum, for the use of the freeholders of counties; being a list of the subscribers of the South Sea stock. London, printed an. 1721.
- 68 A state of the national debt as it stood December 24, 1716, with the payments made toward the discharge of it out of the sinking fund, compared with the debt at Michaelmas 1725. London, printed an. 1727*.
- 69 Proposals to raise ten millions and five hundred thousand pounds a year. To which is added, a proposal to raise four millions at 3 per cent. or 570,000*l.* per year to pay off the money borrowed on the post act, soap, candles, &c. without any additional tax. By an officer of the stamp duties. London, printed an. 1744.
- 70 An essay on the causes of the decline of the foreign trade, consequently of the value of the lands of Britain; and on the means to restore both. Begun in the year 1739. Supposed to be written by Sir Matthew Decker. London, printed an. 1744.
- 71 Seasonable considerations relating to the smugglers. London, printed an. 1746.
- 72 Scheme to secure and extend the credit and strength of the British Nation. London, printed an. 1747.
- 73 The valuation of annuities upon lives, deduced from the London bills of mortality. By James Hodgson, F.R.S. London, printed an. 1747.
- 74 A scheme for preventing a further increase of the national debt, and for reducing the same. London, printed an. 1756.
- 75 A short account of some particulars concerning doomsday book, with a view to promote its being published. London, printed an. 1756.
- 76 A short account of Danegeld, with some farther particulars relative to William the Conqueror's survey. London, printed an. 1756.
- 77 A scheme for raising of four millions five hundred thousand pounds, humbly offered to the consideration of the legislative power, and to all good and loyal subjects of Great Britain; with another annexed to it, for the payment of the annuities that will yearly become payable on that large sum to be raised for the public service; with other hints for the raising of a sufficient sum for discharging the same; none of which are detrimental to the public. London, printed an. 1757.
- 78 A state of facts in defence of his Majesty's right to certain fee farm rents in the county of Norfolk. London, printed an. 1758.
- 79 A proposal for making a saving to the public of many thousand pounds a year in the charge of maintaining his Majesty's marine forces. By J. Massie. London, printed an. 1758.
- 80 Short animadversions on the difference now set up between gin and rum, and our mother country and colonies. London, printed an. 1760.
- 81 Reasons humbly offered against laying any further tax upon malt or beer, shewing that such a tax would not only cause great losses to the landholders of England, but be prejudicial to several branches of our manufactures, and prove a pinchbelly tax to some hundred thousand families of labouring people. By J. Massie. London, printed an. 1760.
- 82 A treatise upon perennial ways and means, with other political tracts. By T. Brecknock. London, printed an. 1762.

* Said to have been written by Archibald Hutcheson. In a debate of 1728. Mr. Pulteney was charged with being the author of this tract; the calculations in it were objected to by Sir Nathaniel Gould, and by Sir Robert Walpole, and defended by Mr. Pulteney. See Tindal, octavo p. 19.

- 83 A scheme by which great advantages are proposed for the government, as well as for the people of Great Britain. London, printed an. 1762.
- 84 Reflections on coin in general, on the coins of gold and silver in Great Britain in particular, on those metals as merchandize, and also on paper passing as money. London, printed an. 1762.
- 85 A proposal for selling part of the forest lands and chases, and disposing of the produce towards the discharge of that part of the national debt due to the bank of England; and for the establishment of a national bank; and also to defray the extraordinary expences of any war the nation should hereafter engage in, without borrowing. London, printed an. 1763.
- 86 The case of the county of Devon with respect to the consequences of the new excise duty on cyder and perry. London, printed an. 1763.
- 87 The budget; inscribed to the man who thinks himself minister. By David Hartley, esq. London, printed an. 1764.
- 88 The objections to the taxation of our American colonies by the legislature of Great Britain, briefly considered. Supposed to be written by Soame Jenyns, esq. London, printed an. 1765.
- 89 The state of the nation; with preliminary defence of the budget. London, printed an. 1765.
- 90 Considerations on the trade and finances of the kingdom, and on the measures of administration with respect to those great national objects, since the conclusion of the peace. London, printed an. 1766*.
- 91 The present state of the nation; particularly with respect to its trade, finances &c. &c. Supposed to be written by the Right Hon. George Grenville. London, printed an. 1768.
- 92 Rational results upon the present state of the national debt, with a regular and infallible process for discharging the same in a very few years. Newcastle, printed an. 1769.
- 93 Considerations on the present dearthness of provisions and corn in Great Britain; with thoughts on a suitable remedy, so as not to oppress the landed or trading interest, or diminish the revenue. By Thomas Elbridge Rooke esq. Devizes, printed an. 1772.
- 94 The popular budget. By an experienced practitioner in political anatomy. (Samuel Clay Harvey, esq.) London, printed an. 1772.
- 95 Considerations on the act of parliament, commonly called the Nullum Tempus Act, with some reasons why such a statute of limitation ought not to be extended to ecclesiastical persons. London, printed an. 1773.
- 96 An analysis of the several bank annuities from the first year of their creation down to the present time, with references to the different acts passed relative thereto. To which is added by way of supplement, a correct account of the supplies and ways and means voted in the last session of parliament. By T. Ashmore. London, printed an. 1774.
- 97 Principles of trade. Freedom and protection are its best support, industry the only means to render manufactures cheap. Of coins, exchange, and bounties, particularly the bounty on corn. London, printed an. 1774.
- 98 Considerations on the means of preventing fraudulent practices on the gold coin. Written by lord viscount Mahon, at Geneva, in 1773. London, printed an. 1775.
- 99 History of the colonization of the free states of antiquity, applied to the present contest between Great Britain and her American colonies, with

* Said to have been written either by Mr. George Grenville, or under his direction. A second edition was published an. 1766.

- reflections concerning the future settlement of these colonies. London, printed an. 1777.
- 100 Remarks upon an essay, intituled, The history of the colonization of the free states of antiquity. By John Symonds, LL. D. London, printed an. 1778.
- 101 Historical remarks on the taxation of free states, in a series of letters to a friend. London, printed an. 1778.
- 102 Articles of the universal institution for assurance on lives (in three parts), calculated on a new principle. London, printed an. 1778.
- 103 Observations on smuggling, humbly submitted to the consideration of the right honourable the house of peers and the honourable the house of commons in parliament. Printed an. 1779.
- 104 The corn distillery stated to the consideration of the landed interest of England. London, printed an. 1783.
- 105 Considerations on the advantages of an improved system of finance, calculated to raise a great and productive revenue, adequate to the pressing necessities of the state, and to prevent the ruinous consequences of taxing the manufactures of Great Britain in their progress to maturity. London, printed an. 1785.
- 106 Letter on the bill for establishing and applying an unalienable sinking fund for discharging the public debt. London, printed an. 1786.
- 107 Observations on Mr. Pitt's plan for the reduction of the national debt. By Charles earl Stanhope, F.R.S. London, printed an. 1786.
- 108 Address to the stockholders, with a proposal for the amendment and better security of their funded property. London, printed an. 1786.
- 109 A letter from Mr. Pigot to the right honourable William Pitt, on the necessity and advantage of a taxation on the public funds. London, printed an. 1786.
- 110 A second letter from Mr. Pigot to the right honourable William Pitt, on the necessity and advantage of a taxation on the public funds. London, printed an. 1787.
- 111 An essay on the national debt, with copper-plate charts, for comparing annuities, with perpetual loans. By William Playfair. London, printed an. 1787.
- 112 An explanation of the mistaken principle on which the commutation act was founded, and the nature of the mischiefs which must follow from a perseverance in it, in a second address to the public. By Thomas Bates Rous, esq. London, printed an. 1788.
- 113 Observations relative to the taxes upon windows or lights; a commutation of these taxes being also suggested, and a tax assessed from the internal capaciousness or tonnage of houses, pointed out as a more eligible mode of taxation. By John Lewis De Lolme, LL.D. London, printed an. 1788.
- 114 Reasons humbly offered to the honourable house of commons for translating the duty of excise from malt drinks to malt, whereby may be advanced to the crown above twenty millions for carrying on the war against France. By Robert Murray, gent. (Undated)
- 115 Some considerations about the most proper way of raising money in the present conjuncture. (Undated.)

BOOKS.

OCTAVO et INFRA.

- 1 Considerations for regulating the exchequer, in the more timely answering, better husbanding, and more orderly and safe conduct of the revenues of the crown, into his Majesty's coffers. By C. Vernon. London, printed an. 1642.
- 2 The standard of equality in subsidiary taxes and payments; or a just and strong preserver of public liberty. London, printed an. 1647.
- 3 A catalogue of the lords, knights, and gentlemen that have compounded for their estates. London, printed an. 1655.
- 4 The question concerning impositions, tonnage, poundage, prize, customs, &c. fully stated and argued from reason, law, and policy. By Sir John Davies. London, printed an. 1656.
- 5 The rights of the people concerning impositions stated, with a remonstrance presented to the King's most excellent Majesty by the honourable house of commons, anno 1610. By a late eminent judge of this nation. London, printed an. 1658.
- 6 Cottoni Posthuma. Divers choice pieces of that renowned antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, Bart. By J. H. esq. London, printed an. 1672.
- 7 A discourse of the rise and power of parliaments, of laws, of courts of judicature, of liberty, &c. &c. of taxes, and of trade, in a letter from a gentleman in the country to a member of parliament. London, printed an. 1677.
- 8 A vindication of the case relating to greenwax fines, shewing how the rights and prerogatives of the crown are diminished, officers enriched, and the subjects oppressed, by the mismanagement of that revenue. London, printed an. 1684.
- 9 The history of the original and progress of ecclesiastical revenues. Translated from the French. London, printed an. 1685.
- 10 The assurance of abbey and other church lands in England to the possessors, cleared from the doubts and arguments raised about the danger of resumption, in answer to a letter of a person of quality. By Nathaniel Johnston, M. D. London, printed an. 1687.
- 11 A compendium of the several branches of practice in the court of exchequer at Westminster. London, printed an. 1688.
- 12 A discourse on the late funds of the million act, lottery act, and bank of England, together with proposals for supplying their Majesties with money on easy terms by a national land bank. By John Briscoe. London, printed an. 1696.
- 13 The present state of England as to coin and public charges, in three parts. By J. H. London, printed an. 1697.
- 14 An essay upon projects. By Daniel De Foe. London, printed an. 1697.
- 15 Arcana Imperii Detecta; or, divers select cases in government. Said to have been translated by Dr. D'Avenant. London, printed an. 1701.
- 16 A treatise of the just interest of the kings of England in their free disposing power, and the validity of their grants made to any of their subjects. Supposed to be written by lord chief justice Hales, anno 1657. London, printed an. 1703.
- 17 Chronicon Preciosum; or an account of English money, the price of corn, and other commodities, for the last six hundred years. By Bishop Fleetwood. London, printed an. 1707.

- 18 **New dialogues upon the present posture of affairs, the species of money, national debts, public revenues, bank and East India company, and the trade now carried on between France and Holland.** In two volumes. Said to be written by Dr. D'Avenant. London, printed an. 1710.
- 19 **A treatise on the rights of the crown, declaring how the king of England may support and increase his annual revenues.** By William Noy, Esq. anno 1634. London, printed an. 1715.
- 20 **A digest of all the laws relating to the customs, to trade and navigation; with a short historical dissertation concerning the nature, extent, and method of collection of the ancient revenue of the crown.** By Samuel Forster, esq. London, printed an. 1727.
- 21 **The royal treasury of England; or, a general history of taxes from the conquest to the present time.** By Captain John Stevens. London, printed an. 1728.
- 22 **An essay to ascertain the value of leases and annuities for years and lives; with observations on the state of the coin, the interest of money, and the price of things in different ages, &c.** By William Lee. London, printed an. 1737.
- 23 **An historical view of the court of exchequer, and of the king's revenues there.** By a late learned Judge. London, printed an. 1738.
- 24 **The doctrines of annuities and reversions deduced from general and evident principles; with useful tables, shewing the value of single or joint lives, &c.** By Thomas Simpson. London, printed an. 1742.
- 25 **The history of our national debts and taxes, from the year 1688 to the present year 1751.** London, printed an. 1751.
- 26 **A collection of tracts.** By the late John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, esqrs. In two volumes. London, printed an. 1751.
- 27 **Money and trade considered; with a proposal for supplying the nation with money.** First published at Edinburgh, an. 1705, by the celebrated John Law, esq. Glasgow, printed an. 1750.
- 28 **The querist; or several queries proposed to the consideration of the public.** By the bishop of Cloyne. Glasgow, printed an. 1751.
- 29 **Annuities on lives; with several tables, exhibiting at one view the value of lives for different rates of interest.** By A. De Moivre. London, printed an. 1752.
- 30 **Great Britain's true system; wherein is clearly shewn, that an increase of the public debts and taxes must in a few years prove the ruin of the monied, the trading, and the landed interests, &c.** By Malachy Postlethwait, esq. London, printed an. 1757.
- 31 **The British customs, containing an historical and practical account of each branch of that revenue.** * By Henry Saxby. London, printed an. 1757.
- 32 **An essay upon money and coins.** Part I. contains the theory of commerce, money, and exchanges. Part II. wherein is shewed, that the established standard of money should not be violated or altered under any pretence whatever. By Mr. Harris. London, printed an. 1757 and 8.
- 33 **A treatise on the court of exchequer; in which the revenues of the crown, the manner of receiving and accounting for the several branches of them, the duty of the several officers employed in the collection and receipt, the nature of the processes for the recovery of debts due to the crown, are clearly explained; as also the nature of the feudal and other ancient tenures, &c. &c.** By lord chief baron Gilbert. London, printed an. 1758.
- 34 **Smuggling laid open in all its extensive and destructive branches, with proposals for the effectual remedy of that most iniquitous practice.**
Said

- Said to have been written by sir Theodore Jansen. London, printed an. 1763.
- 35 A collection of the supplies and ways and means, from the revolution to the present time. By Charles Whitworth, esq. M. P. London, printed an. 1765.
 - 36 A general view of England, respecting its policy, trade, commerce, taxes, debts, produce of lands, colonies, &c. &c. argumentatively stated, from the year 1600 to 1762. Translated from the French. London, printed an. 1766.
 - 37 Tracts chiefly relating to Ireland, containing a treatise of taxes, contributions, &c. By the late sir William Petty. Dublin, printed an. 1769.
 - 38 An essay on trade and commerce, containing observations on taxes as they are supposed to affect the price of labour in our manufactories; together with some reflections on the importance of our trade to America, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1770.
 - 39 An essay on the theory of money. London, printed an. 1771.
 - 40 Considerations on the policy, commerce, and circumstances of the kingdom. London, printed an. 1771.
 - 41 Calculations deduced from first principles, for the use of the societies instituted for the benefit of old age. London, printed an. 1772.
 - 42 Tables for buying and selling of gold. By Samuel Etheridge. London, printed an. 1773.
 - 43 Political arithmetic; containing observations on the present state of Great Britain, and the principles of her policy in the encouragement of agriculture. By Arthur Young, esq. F. R. S. London, printed an. 1774.
 - 44 Schemes offered for the perusal and consideration of the legislature and public in general, shewing the many evils that might be prevented, and the good that would accrue to the public, were they improved and enacted into laws; together with hints relative to a dog tax. By C. Varlo, esq. London, printed an. 1775.
 - 45 The history of the customs, aids, subsidies, national debts and taxes of England, from William the conqueror to the present year, 1778. By T. Cunningham, esq. London, printed an. 1778.
 - 46 Two tracts on civil liberty, the war with America, and the debts and finances of the kingdom. By Richard Price, D. D. F. R. S. London, printed an. 1778.
 - 47 The necessity and expediency of an association of merchants to oppose and get redress of many abuses arising from custom-house officers, &c. London, printed an. 1779.
 - 48 The doctrine of annuities and assurances on lives and survivorships stated and explained. By William Morgan. London, printed an. 1779.
 - 49 Letters to the earl of Carlisle from William Eden, esq. on the public debts, public credit, and the means of raising supplies, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1780.
 - 50 A treatise on military finance; containing the pay, subsistence, deductions, and arrears of the forces on the British and Irish establishments, &c. London, printed an. 1782.
 - 51 A compleat abridgement of the statutes relating to the stamp duties, alphabetically digested. London, printed an. 1783.
 - 52 Tables, formed on a new and easy principle, for calculating the value of stocks and annuities; to which is subjoined, a comparative view of the funds, with the rate per cent. made of money invested therein. By William Blewett. London, printed an. 1783.

- 53 Observations on reverſionary payments, on ſchemes for providing annuities for widows and for perſons in old age, and on the national debt, &c. In two volumes. By Richard Price, D. D. F. R. S. London, printed an. 1783.
- 54 Eſſays and treatiſes on ſeveral ſubjects; including obſervations on taxes and on public credit. In two volumes. By David Hume, eſq. London, printed an. 1784.
- 55 Obſervations on the wealth and force of nations, &c. &c. By Charles M'Kinnon, eſq. Edinburgh, printed an. 1785.
- 56 A Treatiſe on the adminiſtration of the finances of France. In three volumes. By M. Neckar. Tranſlated from the French by Thomas Mortimer, eſq. London, printed an. 1785.
- 57 Every man his own broker; or a guide to Exchange alley: in which the nature of the ſeveral funds is clearly explained. Alſo, an hiſtorical account of the origin, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of public credit, of the national debt, &c. By Thomas Mortimer, eſq. London, printed an. 1785.
- 58 A collection of ſcarce and intereſting tracts, written by perſons of eminence, upon the moſt important political and commercial ſubjects during the years 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, and 1770. In four volumes. London, printed an. 1788.

PAMPHLETS.

OCTAVO et INFRA.

- 1 The myſtery of the good old cauſe briefly unfolded, in a catalogue of ſuch members of the late long parliament that held offices both civil and military; together with the ſums of money and lands which they divided among themſelves during their ſitting, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1660.
- 2 A ſhort model of the bank, ſhewing how a bank may be erected without much trouble, and without any charge or hazard to any body, &c. &c. By M. Lewis. D. D. London, printed an. 1678.
- 3 England's glory; or, the great improvement of trade in general by a royal bank, or office of credit, to be erected in London. By H. M. London, printed an. 1694.
- 4 Propoſals to increaſe trade by way of a lumber office. London, printed an. 1694.
- 5 Remarks upon the act of tonnage relating to the bank. London, printed an. 1694.
- 6 An eſſay towards carrying on the preſent war againſt France; alſo for paying off all debts contracted in the ſame, or otherwiſe, &c. By John Blackwell. London, printed an. 1695.
- 7 A reply to the defence of the bank, ſetting forth the unreaſonableneſs of their ſlow payments. To which is added, the miſchiefs that attend the buying and ſelling bank notes, &c. London, printed an. 1696.
- 8 Several aſſertions proved, in order to create another ſpecies of money than gold and ſilver. London, printed an. 1696.
- 9 An eſſay towards the ſettlement of a national credit in the kingdom of England. By John Cary. London, printed an. 1696.
- 10 An eſſay upon the exciſing of malt, as alſo the preſent caſe of tallies conſidered. By A. Burnaby. London, printed an. 1696.
- 11 A letter to a member of the honourable houſe of commons, in anſwer to three queries: 1. Whether there is no other cauſe of our want of bullion and

- and coin but the clipping of our money, and the expence of the war, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1697.
- 12 Remarks upon some wrong computations contained in a late tract, entitled, discourses on the public revenues, and on the trade of England. London, printed an. 1698.
 - 13 The constitution of the office of land credit, declared in a deed. By Hugh Chamberlen, M. D. &c. London, printed an. 1698.
 - 14 A dialogue between a member of parliament, a lawyer, a freeholder, a shopkeeper, and a farmer; or, remarks on the badness of our market, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1703.
 - 15 Remarks upon the bank of England, with regard more especially to our trade and government, occasioned by the present discourse concerning the prolongation of the bank. By a merchant of London. London, printed an. 1705.
 - 16 Reasons offered against the continuance of the bank, in a letter to a member of parliament. London, printed an. 1707.
 - 17 An essay upon public credit; being an inquiry how the public credit comes to depend upon the change of the ministry, or the dissolution of parliaments, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1710.
 - 18 A Vindication of the faults on both sides, from the reflections of the medley, the specimen maker, and a pamphlet, entitled most faults on one side; with a dissertation on the nature and use of money and paper credit, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1710.
 - 19 An essay towards the history of the last ministry and parliament; containing seasonable reflections on public credit, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1710.
 - 20 The re-representation; or, a modest search after the great plunderers of the nation, &c. London, printed an. 1711.
 - 21 The taxes not grievous, and therefore not a reason for an unsafe peace. London, printed an. 1711.
 - 22 A collection of scarce and valuable papers, containing some remarks upon, and instances of, the usages of former parliaments in relation to taxes. London, printed an. 1712.
 - 23 The consequences of a law for reducing the duties upon French wines, brandy, silks, and linen, to those of other nations. London, printed an. 1713.
 - 24 The state and condition of our taxes considered; or, a proposal for a tax upon funds. London, printed an. 1714.
 - 25 An essay upon credit; being a proposal for the immediate and entire payment of the public debts, and raising the credit of the nation. By Edward Leigh, esq. London, printed an. 1715.
 - 26 Fair payment, no sponge; or, some considerations on the unreasonableness of refusing to receive back money lent on public securities, and the necessity of setting the nation free from the insupportable burthen of debt and taxes. London, printed an. 1717.
 - 27 A summary of all the religious houses in England and Wales, with their titles and valuations at the time of their dissolution, and a calculation of what they might be worth at this day. London, printed an. 1717.
 - 28 Essays on the national constitution, bank, credit, and trade. London, printed an. 1717.
 - 29 An account of all the gold and silver coins ever used in England, particularly of their value, fineness, &c. and the standards of gold and silver in all the respective reigns for the last six hundred years, &c. London, printed an. 1718.

- 30 Remarks upon a late ingenious pamphlet, entitled, a short but thorough search into what may be the real cause of the present scarcity of our silver coin; wherein some mistakes of that author are endeavoured to be removed, and a remedy proposed that cannot fail to make it become plentiful again. London, printed an. 1718.
- 31 A Letter to Archibald Hutcheson, esq. shewing the insufficiency of his scheme for the payment of the public debts. To which is added, a scheme concerning the reduction of the debts. London, printed an. 1718.
- 32 Two letters to a member of parliament concerning the public debts, as they were printed and delivered to the members of the house of commons on occasion of his Majesty's speech concerning the reduction of the public debts. London, printed an. 1718.
- 33 An essay upon credit; being a proposal for the immediate and entire payment of the public debts, and raising the credit of the nation, contained in a scheme of management of exchequer credit by the present funds, without any new tax or imposition. By Edward Leigh, esq. London, printed an. 1719.
- 34 Reasons humbly offered against the intended duty to be laid on plate, and the alterations of the standard, in a letter to a member of parliament. By a working silversmith. London, printed an. 1720.
- 35 An appeal to common sense; or, some considerations offered to restore public credit. By Erasmus Phillips. London, printed an. 1720.
- 36 The case of the annuitants stated, and compared with other creditors of the government; with some remarks on a pamphlet regarding South Sea stock. London, printed an. 1720.
- 37 The nation preserved, or the plot discovered; containing an impartial account of the secret policy of some of the South Sea directors, with copies of their letters to each other, &c. Addressed to sir J. B. London, printed an. 1720.
- 38 The South Sea scheme considered, in a letter to the right honourable Robert Walpole, esq. London, printed an. 1720.
- 39 An essay for discharging the debts of the nation by equivalents, in a letter to the right honourable Charles, earl of Sunderland. London, printed an. 1720.
- 40 The South Sea scheme examined, and the reasonableness thereof demonstrated. London, printed an. 1720.
- 41 Three letters relating to the South Sea company and the bank. By James Milner, esq. London, printed an. 1720.
- 42 A nation a family, being the sequel of the crisis of property; or, a plan for the improvement of the South Sea proposal. By sir Richard Steele, knt. M. P. London, printed an. 1720.
- 43 An answer to several queries relating to the proposal for payment of the public debts, for relief of the South Sea company, and for easing the nation of the land and malt taxes. By sir Humphrey Mackworth. London, printed an. 1720.
- 44 An essay for establishing a new parliament money; with some thoughts for the service of the South Sea company. London, printed an. 1720.
- 45 Britain's scheme to make a new coin of gold and silver, to give in exchange for paper money and South Sea stock, &c. By Charles Povey, gent. London, printed an. 1720.
- 46 A letter to a member of parliament, occasioned by the South Sea company's scheme for reducing the public debts. London, printed an. 1720.

- 47 The proceedings of the late directors of the South Sea company, from their proposal for taking in the public debts, to the choice of new directors. London, printed an. 1720.
- 48 A letter to a friend, concerning the proposals for the payment of the nation's debts. London, printed an. 1720.
- 49 Considerations on the present state of the nation as to public credit, stocks, the landed and trading interests; with a proposal for the speedy lessening of the public debts, &c. London, printed an. 1720.
- 50 The system, or theory of the trade of the world. By Isaac Gervaise. London, printed an. 1720.
- 51 A proposal for paying off the public debts by the appropriated funds, without raising any taxes upon land, malt, or other things for that purpose, &c. London, printed an. 1720.
- 52 The present state of the French revenues and trade, &c. London, printed an. 1720.
- 53 The chimera; or, the French way of paying national debts laid open: being an impartial account of the proceedings in France for raising a paper credit, and settling the Mississippi stock. London, printed an. 1720.
- 54 The present state of the British credit considered, in a letter to William St—r, esq. M. P. London, printed an. 1720.
- 55 The present management of the customs; being a detection of grand frauds in that branch of his Majesty's royal revenue, &c. &c. By Robert Logan, gent. London, printed an. 1720.
- 56 Now or never; or, a familiar discourse concerning the two schemes for restoring national credit. By R. M. esq. London, printed an. 1721.
- 57 A proposal for relieving the present exigencies of the nation by a land credit. By Middleton Walker. London, printed an. 1721.
- 58 The case of the borrowers on the South Sea loans stated. London, printed an. 1721.
- 59 A true state of the contracts relating to the third money subscription taken by the South Sea company. London, printed an. 1721.
- 60 The screen removed, in a list of all the names mentioned in the report of the committee of secrecy, with the sums wherewith they are charged, in relation to South Sea stock. London, printed an. 1721.
- 61 An essay towards restoring public credit, humbly offered to the consideration of the honourable house of commons. London printed an. 1721.
- 62 The rise of the stocks the ruin of the people, plainly demonstrated in three letters to a member of parliament, wherein is contained a short scheme for the real reducing of the public debts. London, printed an. 1721.
- 63 A letter to the governor of the bank of England. London, printed an. 1722.
- 64 The nature and weight of the taxes of the nation, &c. &c. London; printed an. 1722.
- 65 The interest of Great Britain considered; or, the herring fishery proposed as the most rational expedient for paying our national debts. London, printed an. 1723.
- 66 An essay on public industry; or, a scheme humbly offered for the encrease of our manufactures, &c. &c. with an expedient for answering the exigencies of government without public lotteries, and a proposal for payment of the national debt. London, printed an. 1724.
- 67 The state of the nation in respect to her commerce, debts, and money. London, printed an. 1725.

- 68 An essay on the public debts of this kingdom, wherein the importance of discharging them is considered, &c. &c. in a letter to a member of the house of commons. By Pulteney earl of Bath. London, printed an. 1726.
- 69 Remarks on a late book, entitled, an essay on the public debts of this kingdom, &c. in a letter to a member of the house of commons. London, printed an. 1727.
- 70 A defence of an essay on the public debts of this kingdom, in answer to a pamphlet, entitled, a state of the national debt. By the author of the essay. London, printed an. 1727.
- 71 Some considerations on the national debts, the sinking fund, and the state of public credit. In a letter to a friend in the country. London, printed an. 1729.
- 72 An honest scheme for improving the trade and credit of the nation, &c. and for paying the public debt. London, printed an. 1729.
- 73 Two proposals for raising one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the current service of the year 1729; and for appropriating the produce of the sinking fund. London, printed an. 1729.
- 74 A letter from a hawker and pedlar in the country, to a member of parliament at London. London, printed an. 1731.
- 75 The national debt, as it stood at Michaelmas 1730, stated and explained. London, printed an. 1731.
- 76 A scheme for payment of the sum of £.49,301,855. 6s. 1½d. being the national debt of Great Britain, as it stood the 31st of December, 1730, in a few years, without any additional tax on the subject. London, an. 1732.
- 77 The original plan, progress, and present state of the South Sea company. Published from the original manuscripts of John Pullen, esq. late governor of Bermudas. London, printed an. 1732.
- 78 The case of the revival of the salt duty fully stated and considered, in answer to a late pamphlet, entitled, "A letter to a freeholder on the late reduction of the land tax to one shilling in the pound." In a letter from a member of parliament to a gentleman in the country. London printed an. 1732.
- 79 Some general considerations concerning the alteration and improvement of the public revenues. London, printed an. 1733.
- 80 French excise; or, a compendious account of the several excises in France, and the oppressive methods used in collecting them. London, printed an. 1733.
- 81 Considerations occasioned by the Craftsman upon excises. London, printed an. 1733.
- 82 Some observations upon a paper, intituled, the Lift; that is, of those who voted for and against the excise bill. London, printed an. 1733.
- 83 The genuine thoughts of a merchant; shewing, that in all the libels, remonstrances, and pretended letters, against a new method of levying the duties on tobacco and wine, there is not so much as one word worth answering. London, printed an. 1732-3.
- 84 Excise anatomized, declaring the unequal imposition of excise to be the only cause of the ruin of trade, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1733.
- 85 Remarks on Fog's Journal of February 10th, 1732-3, exciting the people to an assassination. London, printed an. 1733.
- 86 The reply of a member of parliament to the mayor of his corporation. London, printed an. 1733.
- 87 A letter from a member of parliament to his friends in the country, concerning the duties on wine and tobacco. London, printed an. 1733.

- 88 A letter from a merchant of London to a member of parliament, in answer to a letter from a member of parliament to his friends in the country, concerning the duties on wine and tobacco. London, printed an. 1733.
- 89 The budget opened ; or, an answer to a pamphlet, entitled, a letter from a member of parliament to his friends in the country, concerning the duties on wine and tobacco. London, printed an. 1733.
- 90 An answer to the considerations occasioned by the Craftsman upon excise, so far as it relates to the tobacco trade. London, printed an. 1733.
- 91 The rise and fall of the late projected excise impartially considered. London, printed an. 1733.
- 92 A review of the excise scheme, in answer to a pamphlet, entitled, the rise and fall of the late projected excise, impartially considered, &c. London, printed an. 1733.
- 93 Reflections upon a pamphlet, entitled, observations upon the laws of excise. London, printed an. 1733.
- 94 An appeal to the landholders, concerning the reasonableness and general benefit of an excise upon tobacco and wine. London, printed an. 1733.
- 95 A letter from a member of parliament for a borough in the West, to a noble lord in his neighbourhood, concerning the excise bill, and the manner and causes of losing it. London, printed an. 1733.
- 96 An account of the bank of loan at Amsterdam, commonly called the Lombard, with a defence of pawnbrokers. London, printed an. 1733.
- 97 A vindication of the conduct of the ministry in the scheme of the excise on wine and tobacco. &c. &c. London, printed an. 1734.
- 98 A friendly admonition to the drinkers of brandy and other distilled spirituous liquors. London, printed an. 1734.
- 99 Considerations on the necessity of taxing the annuities granted by parliament in the reigns of king William and queen Anne, and reducing one-fifth of the capital stock of all persons possessed of five thousand pounds, or more, in the South Sea company, in order to pay off the national debt. London, printed an. 1734.
- 100 Money answers all things; or, an essay to make money sufficiently plentiful amongst all ranks of people, and also to reduce the national debts, and ease the taxes. By John Vanderlint. London, printed an. 1734.
- 101 The case of the bank contract, in answer to the infamous scurrilities of several libels lately printed in the Craftsman. London, printed an. 1735.
- 102 The case of the sinking fund, and the right of the public creditors to it, considered at large, with some further observations on the national debt, &c. London, printed an. 1735.
- 103 Ways and means to raise the value of land, with political discourses on the land tax, war, and other subjects. By William Allen, esq. London, printed an. 1736.
- 104 An inquiry into the misconduct and frauds committed by several of the factors, &c. employed by the late and present directors of the South Sea company, &c. London, printed an. 1736.
- 105 An essay on the sinking fund, wherein the nature thereof is fully explained, and the right of the public to that fund asserted and maintained. London, printed an. 1736.
- 106 A letter from a member of parliament to his friend in the country, upon the motion to address his Majesty to settle one hundred thousand pounds per annum on his royal highness the prince of Wales ; in which the ancient and modern state of the civil list, and the allowance to the heir apparent

- parent or presumptive of the crown, are particularly considered. London, printed an. 1737.
- 107 Reasons against lowering the interest of the redeemable national debt from four to three per cent. shewing this scheme to be detrimental to the public. In a letter to a member of parliament. London, printed an. 1737.
- 108 Considerations upon a proposal for lowering the interest of all the redeemable national debts to three per cent. per annum. London, printed an. 1737.
- 109 A speech without doors, addressed to the national creditors, for the redeemables at four per cent. London, printed an. 1737.
- 110 Queries relating to the reduction of the national redeemable debts from four to three per cent. London, printed an. 1737.
- 111 Reasons for the more speedy lessening the national debt, and taking off the most burthenfome of the taxes. London, printed an. 1737.
- 112 An inquiry into the causes of the increase and miseries of the poor of England, &c. with a proposal for raising the annual supplies by a tax on the incomes and abilities of the subject. London, printed an. 1738.
- 113 A short history of the gin act; or, an impartial account of the conduct of some of those who have been entrusted with the execution of it, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1738.
- 114 Farther considerations on the present state of affairs at home and abroad, as affected by the late convention, &c. &c. containing a true state of the South Sea company's affairs in 1718. London, printed an. 1739.
- 115 An inquiry into the reasons of the advance of the price coals within seven years past, in which are shewn the great impositions laid on the several consumers by a monopoly of that commodity, &c. London, printed an. 1739.
- 116 The present state of the revenues and forces by sea and land of France and Spain, compared with those of Great Britain. London, printed an. 1740.
- 117 The present state of the national debt, with remarks on the nature of our public funds, and the uses which a large national debt may be of to a sole M——r. London, printed an. 1740.
- 118 Two letters to Mr. Wood on the coin and currency in the Leeward islands. London, printed an. 1740.
- 119 An impartial inquiry into the properties of places and pensions as they affect the constitution. Humbly inscribed to the serious perusal of the electors of Great Britain, &c. London, printed an. 1740.
- 120 Reasons and proposals for laying a tax upon dogs. Humbly addressed to the honourably house of commons. London, printed an. 1740.
- 121 The axe laid to the root of the corrupt tree; or, an essay on the hard case of the retail traders, &c. of the city of London, in regard to their trade as at present invaded by hawkers and pedlars. By a liveryman. London, printed an. 1740.
- 122 The profit and loss of Great Britain in the present war with Spain, from July 1739 to July 1741. In a letter to a friend. London, printed an. 1741.
- 123 A letter from a byestander, to a member of parliament, wherein is examined what proportion the revenues of the crown have borne to those of the people at different periods from the restoration to his present majesty's accession. London, printed an. 1741.
- 124 A proper answer to the byestander; wherein is shewn, that public credit is now on a more stable foundation than it ever was before the year 1734. London, printed an. 1742.

- 125 A full answer to the letter from a byestander, wherein his false calculations, misrepresentations of facts in the time of king Charles II. are refuted; together with an historical account of parliamentary aids, &c. in that reign, from the journals of the house of commons. By R. H. esq. London, printed an. 1742.
- 126 Remarks on several acts of parliament, wherein is contained a discourse concerning the four and a half per cent. duty payable by the Leeward Islands. London, printed an. 1742.
- 127 A discourse concerning banks. Printed in the year 1697, and reprinted, London, an. 1742.
- 128 An inquiry into the revenue, credit, and commerce of France. In a letter to a member of this present parliament. London, printed an. 1742.
- 129 A letter to the author of an inquiry into the revenue, credit, and commerce of France. By a member of parliament. London, printed an. 1742.
- 130 A letter to the rev. Thomas Carte, author of the full answer to the letter from a byestander. London, printed an. 1743.
- 131 A full and clear vindication of the full answer to a letter from a byestander, &c. London, printed an. 1743.
- 132 Remarks on the imposts on the clergy in France, and a state of the several taxes laid upon them in the year 1742. To which is added, the new regulation of the tax for arming and cloathing the militia. London, printed an. 1743.
- 133 A free and impartial inquiry into the extraordinary and advantageous bargain lately under the consideration of parliament for remitting money for the pay of the forces abroad for the year 1743, &c. London, printed an. 1743.
- 134 An account of the number of men able to bear arms in the provinces and towns of France, taken by the king's order in 1743; and also of the king of France's revenue and expences in the years 1741 and 1742, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1744.
- 135 Serious considerations on the several high duties which the nation in general (as well as its trade in particular) labours under, with a proposal for raising all the public supplies by one single tax. By Sir Matthew Decker. London, printed an. 1744.
- 136 Serious considerations on the high duties examined. Addressed to Sir Matthew Decker, by Mr. Horsley. London, printed an. 1744.
- 137 Pro commodo regis & populi. Public funds for public service. London, printed an. 1744.
- 138 Considerations against laying any new duty upon sugar; wherein is particularly shewn, that a new imposition will be ruinous to the sugar colonies. London, printed an. 1744.
- 139 An apology for the business of pawnbroking. By a pawnbroker. London, printed an. 1744.
- 140 A plain answer to a late pamphlet, entitled, the business of pawnbroking stated and defended; with some hints humbly proposed for their better regulation. London, printed an. 1745.
- 141 An essay presented, or, a method humbly proposed to the honourable the members of both houses of parliament, to pay the national debt without a new tax, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1744.
- 142 Ways and means for the suppression of knavery, and to raise great sums of money, for the government's use, without any new taxation. By Thomas Robe, esq. London, printed an. 1745.

- 243 A survey of the national debt, the sinking fund, the civil list, and the annual supplies. Inscribed to Sir John Phillips. London, printed an. 1745.
- 244 An inquiry how far the commissioners of his Majesty's land tax have power to alter the quotas assessed within the several hundreds or divisions throughout Great Britain. London, printed an. 1745.
- 245 The coup de grace; or Mr. Bayle's prophecy fulfilled, in Luther junior his last stroke to compleat the reformation, invalidating the title of ecclesiastical estates, proving that they ought to be secularized, &c. London, printed an. 1745.
- 246 Reasons against the exemption of the clergy of London from the payment of the land tax. London, printed an. 1745.
- 247 National economy recommended as the only means of retrieving our trade, and securing our liberties, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1746.
- 248 The criterion; or, some propositions fairly stated, for improving the landed interest, encouraging trade, and for raising great sums of money for government's use, without any new taxation, &c. London, printed an. 1746.
- 249 A defence of several proposals for raising of three millions for the service of the government for the year 1746, &c. By Sir John Barnard. London, printed an. 1746.
- 250 A letter to Sir John Barnard, upon his proposals for raising three millions of money for the service of the year 1746, from a member of the house of commons. London, printed an. 1746.
- 251 Remarks on a letter to Sir John Barnard, in which the proposals of that worthy patriot are vindicated. London, printed an. 1746.
- 252 An essay on the inequality of our present taxes, particularly the land tax, and on the means to raise by an equal easy taxation the necessary supplies within the year. London, printed an. 1746.
- 253 An appeal to Cæsar on the nature and situation of our public affairs, of the national debt, the tax on glass, &c. London, printed an. 1746.
- 254 The state of the nation considered, in a letter to a member of parliament. London, printed an. 1746.
- 255 Considerations relating to the laying any additional duty on sugar from the British plantations. London, printed an. 1747.
- 256 The state of the nation for the year 1747, and respecting 1748. Inscribed to a member of the present parliament. London, printed an. 1747.
- 257 A scheme to suppress smugglers, so as to afford a great advantage to the fair dealer, and increase the custom-house duties, to raise sea and land forces, &c. &c. By Nicholas Machiavelli, esq. London, printed an. 1747.
- 258 The state of the nation, with a general balance of the public accounts. London, printed an. 1748.
- 259 A proposal for a tax for the supplies of the war, that will be useful and easy, not affect trade, and will have a tendency to increase the political strength of the nation. London, printed an. 1748.
- 260 An essay upon public credit, in a letter to a friend, occasioned by the fall of stocks. London, printed an. 1748.
- 261 The state preferable to the church; or, reasons for making sale of the whole present property of the church in England and Ireland, for the use of the state, &c. London, printed an. 1748.
- 262 A dialogue between a member of parliament and one of his electors, concerning the window tax, with an estimate of the probable annual produce

- duce of the duties both in England and in Scotland. By A. Hooké, *esq*. London, printed an. 1748.
- 163 English liberty in some cases worse than French slavery, exemplified by animadversions upon the tyrannical and unconstitutional power of the justices of the peace, commissioners of excise, customs, and land tax, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1748.
- 164 Observations on a paper, entitled, reasons for laying a duty on French and Spanish indigo, and granting a bounty on what is made in the British plantations. London, printed an. 1748.
- 165 Reasons grounded on facts, shewing that a new duty on sugar must fall on the planter, and that a new duty will not certainly encrease the revenue, &c. London, printed an. 1748.
- 166 An apology in the behalf of the smugglers, so far as their case affects the constitution. London, printed an. 1749.
- 167 The present taxes compared to the payments made to the public within the memory of man, with some thoughts on the possible consequences that may ensue from the national debts. London, printed an. 1749.
- 168 Thoughts on the pernicious consequences of borrowing money, with a proposal for raising a supply for the current service. To which are added, some estimates to shew the advantages that would arise from an equal land tax, and a method proposed for discharging the national debt. London, printed an. 1749.
- 169 Considerations upon a reduction of the land tax. London, printed an. 1749.
- 170 Machiavel's letter to the lords and commons of G—t B——n, proposing infallible methods to pay the national debt. London, printed an. 1749.
- 171 National thoughts, recommended to the serious attention of the public; with an appendix, shewing the damages arising from a bounty on corn. London, printed an. 1749.
- 172 Proposals to preserve the public roads without prejudice to trade, excess of tolls, or turnpikes. Also, a brief discourse, shewing that inland trade is the chief support of societies, consequently the support of the nation; that the present run of post-chaifes tends equally to the ruin of both; and that unequal taxes and unequal privileges are oft attended with pernicious consequences. London, printed an. 1750.
- 173 An essay on the national debt and national capital, or the account duly stated, debtor and creditor; wherein is shewn, that the former is but a diminutive part of the latter; and a practicable scheme exhibited, whereby the whole may with great facility be paid off at once, exclusive of the aid of the sinking fund, and without any diminution of the present revenues of the crown, or annual expences of the people. By A. Hooké, *esq*. London, printed an. 1750.
- 174 Considerations on the proposal for reducing the interest of the national debt. By Sir John Barnard. London, printed an. 1750.
- 175 Annotations on a late pamphlet, entitled, considerations on the proposal for reducing the interest of the national debt. London, printed an. 1750.
- 176 The necessity of lowering interest, and continuing taxes, demonstrated, in a letter to G. B. London, printed an. 1750.
- 177 An essay on the governing causes of the natural rate of interest, wherein the sentiments of Sir William Petty and Mr. Locke on that head are considered. London, printed an. 1750.
- 178 A dispassionate remonstrance of the nature and tendency of the laws now in force for the reduction of interest, and the consequences that must inevi-

- inevitably flow from them, if continued in their present form ; with a proposal for universal and immediate redress, by alleviating the burthens of the people in general, compleating at once the reduction proposed ; giving better satisfaction to the public creditors, and providing more effectually for the support of the crown. London, printed an. 1751.
- 179 A Speech intended to have been spoken at the general court of the South Sea company, held the 16th of January 1750, but prevented by other gentlemen taking up so great a part of the time of the said court. London, printed an. 1751.
- 180 Farther considerations upon a reduction of the land tax, together with a state of the annual supplies, of the sinking fund, and of the national debt at various future periods, and in various suppositions. London, printed an. 1751.
- 181 Two historical accounts of the making New Forest, in Hampshire, by William the Conqueror, and Richmond New Park, in Surrey, by king Charles I. containing an inquiry into the origin of forests, chaces, &c. parks, &c. London, printed an. 1751.
- 182 The consequences of laying an additional duty on spirituous liquors candidly considered. By a byestander. London, printed an. 1751.
- 183 Seasonable advice to all smugglers of French cambrics and French lawns ; with a brief state from the commissioners of his Majesty's customs of smuggling in the year 1745, and a remedy proposed totally to suppress it and thereby to increase the revenue several hundred thousand pounds annually. London, printed an. 1751.
- 184 Some considerations, humbly offered to the public, concerning the revenue of the customs ; together with some proposals for effectually preventing the frauds and abuses in that revenue. London, printed an. 1752.
- 185 England's interest ; or, free thoughts on the starch duty. Wherein is set forth the advantage that will attend the farmers and landholders, &c. By John Brooks. London, printed an. 1752.
- 186 An account of the late application to parliament from the sugar refiners, grocers, &c. of London, Westminster, Southwark, and Bristol. London, printed an. 1753.
- 187 It's a-going ; or, a perspective view of that pernicious practice of auctions. Addressed to the fair trader. London, printed an. 1753.
- 188 The dog's plea ; or, reasons most humbly submitted by the barking fraternity of Great Britain, to the men their masters, shewing why dogs ought to be exempted from taxes. London, printed an. 1753.
- 189 An inquiry into the origin and consequences of the public debt. Edinburgh, printed an. 1753.
- 190 The valuation of annuities on lives, deduced from the London bills of mortality ; with tables, exhibiting at one view the values of lives at different rates of interest, and tables of compound interest, and of fines for renewing college lands. London, printed an. 1754.
- 191 General thoughts on the construction, use, and abuse of the great offices, with a view to some farther discourses on the same subject. London, printed an. 1754.
- 192 The man's mistaken who thinks the taxes so grievous as to render the nation unable to maintain a war. London, printed an. 1755.
- 193 British liberty in chains, and England's ruin on the anvil, in the isle of Man, now commonly called Little France, &c. By John Baldwin, esq. London, printed an. 1755.
- 194 A treatise upon money, coins, and exchange. in regard both to theory and practice ; giving a full and particular account of the nature and origin

- of that most useful and intricate part of commerce. London, printed an. 1755.
- 195 A letter to a noble lord, containing a new discovery of the scandalous and pernicious practice of running goods from France, which has lately been carried on beyond all example, to the great prejudice of his Majesty's customs, &c. London, printed an. 1755.
- 196 A letter to the people of England on the present situation and conduct of national affairs. By Dr. Shebbeare. London, printed an. 1755.
- 197 A second letter to the people of England on foreign subsidies, subsidiary armies, and their consequences to this nation. London, printed an. 1755.
- 198 A third letter to the people of England, on liberty, taxes, and the application of the public money. London, printed an. 1756.
- 199 A fourth letter to the people of England, on the conduct of the M—rs in alliances, fleets and armies, since the first differences on the Ohio, to the taking of Minorca by the French. London, printed an. 1756.
- 200 Britain's glory displayed; or, ways and means found out whereby to raise men and money towards the support of the present war, without affecting the industrious subject; together with some hints regarding the African company. By J. C. G. London, printed an. 1756.
- 201 A letter from a member of parliament on the plate tax. London, printed an. 1756.
- 202 Considerations upon a new place tax, particularly with regard to the sinecures in the church, as well as offices in the state. London, printed an. 1756.
- 203 An essay on ways and means for raising money for the support of the present war, without increasing the the public debts. By Francis Fauquier. London, printed an. 1756.
- 204 Observations on Mr. Fauquier's essay on ways and means for raising money to support the present war, without increasing the public debts. To which is added, an account of several national advantages derived from the nobility and gentry of the present age living in London a greater part of the year than their ancestors used to do. By J. M. London, printed an. 1756.
- 205 Serious advice and fair warning to all those who live upon the sea coast of England and Wales, particularly to those in the neighbourhood of Weymouth and Portland. To which are added, some extracts from the several acts of parliament relating to ships that are stranded on the coast, and the penalties to be inflicted on those who plunder merchants' ships. By Thomas Francklyn. London, printed an. 1756.
- 206 Calculations of taxes for a family of each rank, degree, or class, for one year. London, printed an. 1756.
- 207 A letter to Bouchier Cleve, esq. concerning his calculations of taxes. London, printed an. 1757.
- 208 The proposal, commonly called Sir Matthew Decker's scheme for one general tax upon houses, laid open, and shewed to be a deep concerted project to traduce the wisdom of the legislature, disquiet the minds of the people, and ruin the trade and manufactories of Great Britain. London, printed an. 1757.
- 209 Lottery schemes in general calculated to raise any sums of money, without enhancing the public debt or taxes. By John Woodcock. London, printed an. 1757.
- 210 A letter from a merchant of the city of London to the right hon. W. P. esq. upon the affairs and commerce of North America and the West Indies, our African trade, the destination of our squadrons and convoys,

- new taxes, and the schemes proposed for raising the extraordinary supplies for the current year. London, printed an. 1757.
- 211 A letter balancing the causes of the present scarcity of our silver coin, and the means of immediate remedy and future prevention of this evil. Addressed to the earl of Powis. London, printed an. 1757.
- 212 Thoughts on money circulation and paper currency. London, printed an. 1758.
- 213 Considerations humbly offered to parliament relative to the heads of a bill for promoting industry, suppressing idleness and begging, and saving above one million sterling of the money now actually paid by the nation to the poor. London, printed an. 1758.
- 214 The case of the five millions fairly stated in regard to taxes, trade, law, lawyers, &c. London, printed an. 1758.
- 215 An essay on coin. By Bryan Robinson, M. D. London, printed an. 1758.
- 216 The present state of the London brewery recommended to the perusal of those concerned in or with the trade, and to the publicans in particular. London, printed an. 1760.
- 217 Occasional observations on a double-titled paper, about the clear produce of the civil list revenue, from midsummer 1727 to midsummer last. London, printed an. 1761.
- 218 A mirror for the rulers of the people; in which are contained several miscellaneous pieces adapted to the time. To which are added, some proposals for the speedy lessening the national debt. London, printed an. 1761.
- 219 A letter to the right honourable grocer. To which is prefixed, an essay on the origin of pensions in England. Inscribed to a newly created baroness. London, printed an. 1761.
- 220 Tragi-comic memoirs of the origin, progress, and events of our present war against France, and of the successive ministers therein employed. To which are added, national postulate on patriot evolutions, economical reforms in a royal household, &c. London, printed an. 1762.
- 221 An easy method of discharging the national debt, with the consent and approbation of the stockholders. London, printed an. 1763.
- 222 An essay on the means of discharging the public debt; in which the reasons for instituting a national bank, and disposing of the forest lands, are more fully considered; with a method proposed of raising money to answer the expences of any future war, without creating new funds. London, printed an. 1763.
- 223 A letter to the honourable the commissioners of his Majesty's customs, containing an account of the detection of frauds at the custom-house, which had been successfully carried on for years by false affirmations (perjury), and their very remarkable punishments &c. &c. By William Stewardson. London, printed an. 1763.
- 224 *Droit le Roy*; or, a digest of the rights and prerogatives of the imperial crown of Great Britain. By a member of the society of Lincoln's inn. London, printed an. 1764.
- 225 An essay on paper circulation, and a scheme proposed for supplying the government with twenty millions, without any loan or new tax. London, printed an. 1764.
- 226 A second letter to the right hon. Charles Townshend, occasioned by his commendations of the budget; in which the merits of that pamphlet are examined. London, printed an. 1765.
- 227 Considerations on taxes, as they are supposed to affect the price of labour in our manufactures; also some reflections on the general behaviour and

- disposition of the manufacturing populace of this kingdom, &c. London, printed an. 1765.
- 228 A letter to the public, containing some important hints relating to the revenue. London, printed an. 1765.
- 229 Considerations relative to a bill under the consideration of a committee of the house of commons, for taking off duty on all raw silk of every denomination, that shall be imported into Great Britain. London, printed an. 1765.
- 230 State of the demands of sundry contractors upon the crown of Great Britain, for forage, &c. delivered into the King's magazine, for the use of the British combined army, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1767.
- 231 Half an hour's advice to nobody knows who. London, printed an. 1767.
- 232 An inquiry into the causes of the present high price of provisions. In two parts. 1. As the general causes of this evil as resulting from taxes, &c. &c. 2. Of the causes of it in some particular instances. London, printed an. 1767.
- 233 A scheme to pay off in a few years the national debt, by a repeal of the marriage act. London, printed an. 1767.
- 234 The political register for March 1768, containing a scheme for paying off the national debt. London, printed an. 1768.
- 235 Observations on the power of alienation in the crown before the first of queen Anne, supported by precedents, and the opinions of many learned judges; together with some remarks on the conduct of administration respecting the duke of Portland's case. London, printed an. 1768.
- 236 The case of his grace the duke of Portland respecting two leases lately granted by the lords of the treasury to Sir James Lowther, bart. London, printed an. 1768.
- 237 An answer to the duke of Portland's case. London, printed an. 1768.
- 238 The national debt no national grievance: or, the real state of the nation with respect to its civil and religious liberty, commerce, public credit, and finances. To which are added, proposals for improving the public revenue without additional taxes. By Thomas Mortimer, esq. London, printed an. 1768.
- 239 The present state of the nation, particularly with respect to its trade, finances, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1768.
- 240 An appendix to the present state of the nation; containing a reply to the observations on that pamphlet. London, printed an. 1769.
- 241 Observations on a late state of the nation. London, printed an. 1769.
- 242 Thoughts on the cause of the present discontents. London, printed an. 1770.
- 243 A candid inquiry into the causes of the present ruined state of the French monarchy; with remarks on the late despotic reduction of the interest of the national debt in France. London, printed an. 1770.
- 244 A letter to the right honourable lord North, first lord of the treasury, recommending a new mode of taxation, through which vice may be checked, and the poor relieved. London, printed an. 1770.
- 245 Selim's letters, exposing the mal-practices of the office of ordnance; with the particulars of the inquiry of the board of ordnance, and their determination on the charge exhibited against Thomas Hartwell. London, printed an. 1771.
- 246 A letter to the members in parliament on the present state of the coinage, with proposals for the better regulation thereof. London, printed an. 1771.
- 247 Sentiments offered to the public for the coining of forty thousand pounds worth of silver. London, printed an. 1771.

- 248 Considerations on money, bullion, and foreign exchanges, being an inquiry into the present state of the British coinage, particularly with regard to the scarcity of silver money; with a view to point out the most probable means of making it plentiful. London, printed an. 1772.
- 249 Thoughts on the constitutional power and right of the crown in the bestowal of places and pensions, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1772.
- 250 An appeal to the public on the subject of the national debt, &c. By Richard Price, D.D. F.R.S. London, printed an. 1772.
- 251 Remarks upon Dr. Price's appeal to the public on the subject of the national debt. London, printed an. 1772.
- 252 Remarks on Dr. Price's observations on reverfionary payments, particularly on the national debt. To which is added, a scheme for the making a sure provision for the posterity of private persons at an easy expence. London, printed an. 1772.
- 253 An examination of Dr. Price's essay on the population of England and Wales, and the doctrine of an increased population in this kingdom, established by facts. By the Rev. John Howlet, A.B. Maidstone, printed an. 1772.
- 254 Considerations on the nature, origin, and institution of tithes, and the laws and customs for collecting and enforcing the payment of them, &c. with a proposal to parliament to abolish the whole institution of tithes, and restore the farmers of England to equal freedom with other subjects. London, printed an. 1773.
- 255 An essay on gold coin; in which certain methods are laid down to ascertain the quantity and quality of any current pieces of gold coin, by which every species of counterfeit or adulterated coin may be immediately detected. Likewise, observations on currency in general, and the present state of our gold coin in particular, with arguments to prove the necessity of a new coinage. By Thomas Hatton. London, printed an. 1773.
- 256 National follies, national benefits; a letter to the right honourable lord North, and the honourable house of commons. London, printed an. 1773.
- 257 Observations upon the present state of our gold and silver coins (1730). By the late John Conduitt, esq. M. P. from an original MS. formerly in the possession of the late Dr. Jonathan Swift. London, printed an. 1774.
- 258 Considerations on the imposition of four and a half per cent. collected on Grenada and the southern Charibbee islands, by virtue of his Majesty's letters patent, &c. London, printed an. 1774.
- 259 A letter to Edmund Burke, esq. M. P. for the city of Bristol, &c. in answer to his printed speech, said to be spoken in the house of commons, 22d March, 1775. By Josiah Tucker, D.D. London, printed an. 1775.
- 260 The coin act, by way of dialogue, wherein is pointed out the best method of discovering all counterfeits, and of proving and ascertaining the value of true and lawful coin. By J. C. London, printed an. 1775.
- 261 Taxation no tyranny; an answer to the resolutions and address of the American colonies. By Dr. Samuel Johnson. London, printed an. 1775.
- 262 An answer to a pamphlet, entitled, taxation no tyranny. Addressed to the author, and persons in power. London, printed an. 1775.
- 263 Taxation tyranny. Addressed to Dr. Samuel Johnson, LL. D. London, printed an. 1775.

- 264 The pamphlet, entitled, "taxation no tyranny," candidly considered, and its arguments and pernicious doctrines exposed and refuted. London, printed an. 1775.
- 265 An appendix to a letter to Dr. Shebbeare. To which are added, some observations on a pamphlet, entitled, taxation no tyranny; in which the sophistry of that author's reasoning is detected. London, printed an. 1775.
- 266 Reflections on the state of parties, on the national debt, and the necessity and expediency of suppressing the American rebellion. By J. Champion. London, printed an. 1776.
- 267 Thoughts on the great circumspection necessary in licensing public ale-houses. London, printed an. 1776.
- 268 The lottery pamphlet, or the wheel of fortune laid open to the public, or, thoughts on state lotteries. To which is added, the history of the public funds of England. London, printed an. 1776.
- 269 A short account of the society for equitable assurances on lives and survivorships, established by deed, enrolled in his Majesty's court of king's bench, Westminster. London, printed an. 1776.
- 270 A new, easy, and expeditious method of discharging the national debt; or a plan of reformation of the English constitution in church, practicable not only without detriment, but with emolument to the constitution in state. By Francis Stone. London, printed an. 1776.
- 271 Doctor Price's notions of the nature of civil liberty, shewn to be contradictory to reason and scripture. London, printed an. 1777.
- 272 Considerations on the nature, quality, and distinctions of coal and culm; with inquiries philosophical and political into the present state of the laws, and the questions now in agitation relative to the taxes upon these commodities. By Dr. James Hutton. Edinburgh, printed an. 1777.
- 273 Remarks on "considerations on the nature, quality, and distinctions of coal and culm, &c. by Dr. James Hutton." By a friend to the revenue. Addressed to the honourable the commissioners of the customs, &c. London, printed an. 1777.
- 274 The public welfare; or an infallible method of paying off the national debt of England, affording a perpetual supply for every exigence of government without levying any tax, &c. By M. D——z. London, printed an. 1778.
- 275 A scheme whereby the whole national debt may be paid in about thirty years, without any additional tax upon the nation, or any injury either to government or its creditors, and whereby the contracting of any more debt for the future may be prevented. London, printed an. 1778.
- 276 A dissertation on the value of life annuities, deduced from general principles, clearly demonstrated, and particularly applied to the schemes of the laudable and amicable societies of annuitants for the benefit of age. With tables, &c. &c. By William Backhouse. London, printed an. 1778.
- 277 Considerations on the present state of public affairs, and the means of raising the necessary supplies. By William Pulteney, esq. London, printed an. 1779.
- 278 Political arithmetic, part II. containing considerations on the means of raising the supplies within the year, occasioned by Mr. Pultney's pamphlet on that subject. By Arthur Young, esq. F.R.S. London, printed an. 1779.
- 279 Lucubrations on ways and means, humbly addressed to the right honourable

- able lord North. By John Berkenhout, M.D. London, printed an. 1780.
- 280 Occasional letters upon taxation, upon the means of raising the supplies within the year, to answer the expences of a necessary war. London, printed an. 1780.
- 281 Advice to the unwary; or, an abstract of certain penal laws now in force against smuggling in general, and the adulteration of tea. London, printed an. 1780.
- 282 Speech of Edmund Burke, esq. M. P. for the city of Bristol, on presenting to the house of commons (on the 11th of February 1780) a plan for the better security of the independence of parliament, and the economical reformation of the civil and other establishments. Third edition. London, printed an. 1780.
- 283 Observations on Mr. Burke's bill for the better regulation of the independence of parliament, and economical reformation of establishments. By a lady. London, printed an. 1780.
- 284 Cases on appeals concerning the duties on houses and windows, servants, and uninhabited houses; with the determination of the commissioners, and the opinions of all the judges of England thereon. London, printed an. 1780.
- 285 An essay on the population of England, from the revolution to the present time; with remarks on the account of the population, trade, and resources of the kingdom, in Mr. Eden's letters to lord Carlisle. By Richard Price, D. D. F. R. S. London, printed an. 1780.
- 286 An inquiry into the present state of population in England and Wales, and the proportion which the present number of inhabitants bears to the number at former periods. By William Wales, F. R. S. London, printed an. 1781.
- 287 The old funds sufficient for a new loan; or a proposal for raising the supplies of the current year, by lowering the legal interest of money, and taxing the funds, &c. London, printed an. 1781.
- 288 On the debt of the nation compared with its revenue; and the impossibility of carrying on the war without public economy. London, printed an. 1781.
- 289 Considerations preliminary to the fixing the supplies, the ways and means, and the taxes of the year 1781. London, printed an. 1781.
- 290 An address to the public on the subject of the late loan. By Winchcombe Henry Hartley, esq. M. P. London, printed an. 1781.
- 291 Consideration of taxes. Submitted in a series of letters to the right honourable lord North. By J. R. Staub, notary public. London, printed an. 1782.
- 292 Considerations on a rental tax, instead of what has been called the land tax. London, printed an. 1782.
- 293 An essay on the nature of a loan; being an introduction to the knowledge of the public accounts. London, printed an. 1782.
- 294 The question considered, whether wool should be allowed to be exported, when the price is low at home, on paying a duty to the public? By Sir John Dalrymple, bart. London, printed an. 1782.
- 295 State of the public debts, and of the annual interest and benefits paid for them, as they will stand on the 5th of January 1783. Likewise as they will stand (if the war continues) on the 5th of January 1784, &c. &c. By John earl of Stair. London, printed an. 1783.
- 296 An attempt to balance the income and expenditure of the state; with some reflections on the nature and tendency of the late political struggle for power. By John earl of Stair. London, printed an. 1783.
- 297 Appendix to lord Stair's attempt to balance the income and expenditure of the state, &c. London, printed an. 1783.

- 298 An argument to prove, That it is the indispensable duty of the creditors of the public, to insist that government do forthwith bring forward the consideration of the state of the nation, in order to ascertain as near as may be the annual receipts and expenditure of the state; and by providing efficient and adequate funds for the sum in which the *latter* shall be found to exceed the *former*, &c. By John earl of Stair. London, printed an. 1783.
- 299 Hints addressed to the public on the state of our finances. By John Sinclair, esq. London, printed an. 1783.
- 300 A brief and impartial review of the state of Great Britain at the commencement of the session of 1783. London, printed an. 1783.
- 301 Free and candid reflections, occasioned by the late additional duties on sugars and on rum. By John Gardner Kemys, esq. London, printed an. 1783.
- 302 Memoir, containing a plan for re-establishing the public credit and finances of the country. By John Sinclair, esq. London, printed an. 1783.
- 303 A proposal for the liquidation of the national debt, the abolition of tithes, and the reform of the church revenue. London, printed an. 1783.
- 304 Thoughts on the difficulties and distresses in which the peace of 1783 has involved the people of England; on the present disposition of the English, Scots, and Irish, to emigrate to America, &c. By John King, esq. London, printed an. 1783.
- 305 Observations, remarks, and means to prevent smuggling. By George Bishop. London, printed an. 1783.
- 306 A letter of advice addressed to all merchants, manufacturers, and traders in Great Britain, concerning the tax on receipts. London, printed an. 1783.
- 307 A second letter of advice to the merchants, &c. of Great Britain, concerning the tax on receipts. To which are added the opinions of Messrs. Mansfield, Kenyon, and Arden, as to the act. London, printed an. 1783.
- 308 A capital mistake in the legislature respecting the taxes on receipts. London, printed an. 1783.
- 309 Thoughts on the present war; with an impartial review of lord North's administration in conducting the American, French, Spanish, and Dutch war, and in the management of contracts, taxes, the public money, &c. London, printed an. 1783.
- 310 The state of public debts and finances at signing the preliminary articles in January 1783; with a plan for raising money by public loans, and for redeeming the public debts. By Richard Price, D. D. F. R. S. London, printed an. 1783.
- 311 Postscript to a pamphlet, by Dr. Price, on the state of the public debts and finances at signing the preliminary articles, January 1783. London, printed an. 1784.
- 312 A serious address to the public concerning the tax on receipts; with a few observations on the present critical and very alarming situation of this country with regard to trade, revenues, national debt, and principles of government. London, printed an. 1784.
- 313 Plans for reducing the extraordinary expences of the nation, and gradually paying off the national debt. To which is added, a proposal for a general register of births, marriages, &c. &c. By George Box. London, printed an. 1784.
- 314 Letters on credit; with a postscript, and a short account of the bank at Amsterdam. By John Hope, esq. London, printed an. 1784.

- 315 Thoughts concerning paying off part of the capital of the national debt of Great Britain in the mode of a lottery, the prizes of which arise from a diminution of the present annual interest of the public funds. London, printed an. 1784.
- 316 Thoughts on the present mode of taxation in Great Britain. By Francis Dobbs, esq. London, printed an. 1784.
- 317 Observations on the national debt, with ways and means for lessening it very considerably in the course of twenty-five years, by appropriating the produce of certain taxes on property for that purpose; with a description of such taxes, and an estimate of their annual amount. Northampton, printed an. 1784.
- 318 Considerations on the national debt, and net produce of the revenue; with a plan for consolidating into one rate the land and all other taxes, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1784.
- 319 The universal tax directory; shewing at one view the amount of both parliamentary and parochial assessments, from one pound to five hundred, by tables, calculated in the most accurate manner. London, printed an. 1784.
- 320 Observations on the importance of the American revolution, and the means of making it a benefit to the world. To which is added, a letter from Mr. Turgot, late comptroller general of the finances of France; with an appendix, containing the translation of the will of Mr. Fortuné Ricard, lately published in France, (written by a learned gentleman at Lyons under that fictitious appellation *.) By Richard Price, D.D. F.R.S. London, printed an. 1784.
- 321 Report of proceedings respecting the sale and prices of tea since the alteration of the duties thereon. East India House, 19th November, 1784.
- 322 The claims of the public on the minister and the servants of the public, stated. By John earl of Stair. London, printed an. 1785.
- 323 Comparative state of the public revenues, for the years ended 10th of October 1783, and 10th of October 1784. By John earl of Stair. London, printed an. 1785.
- 324 A narrative of the conduct of the tea-dealers during the late sales of teas at the India-House. By the committee of tea-dealers. London, printed an. 1785.
- 325 Further report of proceedings respecting the sale and prices of tea since the alteration of the duties thereon. East-India House, 21st January, 1785.
- 326 An answer to the second report of the East India directors respecting the sale and prices of tea. By Richard Twining. To which is added Mr. Twining's letters to Robert Preston, esq. London, printed an. 1785.
- 327 Remarks on the report of the East-India directors respecting the sale and prices of tea. By Richard Twining. London, printed an. 1785.
- 328 Observations on the tea and window act, and on the tea trade. By Richard Twining. London, printed an. 1785.
- 329 Remarks on the commutation act. Addressed to the people of England. London, printed an. 1785.
- 330 Letters on excessive taxation. London, printed an. 1785.
- 331 A retrospective view of the increasing number of the standing army of Great Britain, from its first establishment in 1650, to the general peace of 1784. London, printed an. 1785.

* The French Author's name was *Monsieur Mathon*, de la Cour de l'Académie de Lyon en France.

- 332 The present state of the manufacture of salt explained, and a new mode suggested of refining British salt, so as to render it equal or superior to the finest foreign salt. To which is subjoined, a plan for abolishing the present duties and restrictions on the manufacture of salt, and for substituting other duties less burthensome to the subjects, more beneficial to the revenue, and better qualified to promote the trade of Great Britain. By the earl of Dundonald. London, printed an. 1785.
- 333 An address to the members of both houses of parliament, on the late tax laid on fustian, and other cotton goods, &c. &c. By John Wright, M. D. London, printed an. 1785.
- 334 A Short essay on the modes of defence best adapted to the situation and circumstances of this island; with an examination of the schemes that have been formed for the purpose of fortifying its principal dock-yards on very extensive plans, which are ready to be carried into execution by his grace the duke of Richmond. London, printed an. 1785.
- 335 An essay on the actual resources for establishing the finances of Great Britain. By George Craufurd, esq. London, printed an. 1785.
- 336 Tracts on subjects of national importance. In two parts. 1. On the advantages of manufactures, commerce, &c. 2. Difficulties stated to a proposed assessment of the land tax: and another subject of taxation proposed, not liable to the same objection. By the Rev. John M'Farlane, D. D. F. R. S. London, printed an. 1786.
- 337 The policy of the tax on receipts considered; or a plea in favour of the manufacturers. London, printed an. 1786.
- 338 Shop tax: An address of the shopkeepers of the city and liberty of Westminster to the right honourable the Lord Mayor, &c. respecting the legal and constitutional measures to be pursued to obtain a repeal of this additional tax on shops. London, printed an. 1786.
- 339 The principles of the commutation act established by facts. By Francis Baring, esq. London, printed an. 1786.
- 340 A short address to the public, containing some thoughts how the national debt may be reduced, and all home taxes, including land tax, abolished. By William lord Newhaven. London, printed an. 1786.
- 341 A short answer to earl Stanhope's observations on Mr. Pitt's plan for the reduction of the national debt. London, printed an. 1786.
- 342 The present state of Great Britain considered, and the national debt discussed, towards a radical and speedy payment. London, printed an. 1786.
- 343 Observations on the commutation project; with a supplement. By Thomas Bates Rous, esq. London, printed an. 1786.
- 344 Two Letters, addressed to the right honourable William Pitt, for obtaining an equal system of taxation, and for reducing the national debt. By P. Barfoot, esq. London, printed an. 1786.
- 345 The dangerous situation of England; or, an address to the landed, trading, and funded interests on the present state of public affairs. By M. Robinson, esq. London, printed an. 1786.
- 346 A short address to the public, on the pay of the British army. London, printed an. 1786.
- 347 The propriety of an actual payment of the public debts considered. By Sir Francis Blake, bart. London, printed an. 1786.
- 348 The efficacy of a sinking fund of one million per annum, considered. By Sir Francis Blake bart. London, printed an. 1786.
- 349 Considerations on the necessity of lowering the exorbitant freight of ships employed in the service of the East India company. By Anthony Brough. London, printed an. 1786.
- 350 Considerations on the annual million bill, and on the real and imaginary properties of a sinking fund. London, printed an. 1787.

- 351 The national debt productive of national prosperity. London, printed an. 1787.
- 352 Thoughts on the present state of the application for a repeal of the shop tax; with remarks on Mr. De Lolme's observation on taxes. London, printed an. 1788.

OCTAVO TRACTS, without any particular Date.

- 1 A letter from a member of parliament to his friend in the country; containing his reasons for being against the late act for preventing the retail of spirituous liquors; in which the great increase of the civil list by this act will be particularly considered. London.
- 2 A treatise on publicans and their business. 1. On the derivation of the word publican, &c. 2. On the impositions and losses publicans are subject to, &c. 3. Directions how and to whom to apply for contributions towards the support of his Majesty's forces when in quarters, &c. &c.
- 3 Some thoughts on the interest of money in general, and particularly in the public funds; with reasons for fixing the same at a lower rate in both instances, with regard especially to the landholders. London.
- 4 An effectual remedy totally to prevent smuggling, and to bring into the revenue one hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds yearly. In answer to the authors of a new discovery, in a letter to a noble lord. London.
- 5 An essay on spirituous liquors, with regard to their effects on health; in which the comparative wholesomeness of rum and brandy is particularly considered. By Robert Dossie, esq. London.
- 6 The right of appeal to juries in causes of excise asserted. London.
- 7 An address to the Great, recommending better ways and means for raising the necessary supplies, than lotteries or taxes, &c. London.
- 8 Renovation; or new modes of representation, and raising supplies, &c. &c.
- 9 An address to the parliament of Great Britain, on the important question—"can the national debt of England be discharged?"
- 10 Machiavel's letters to the lords and commons of Great Britain, proposing infallible methods to pay the national debt, &c. &c. London, printed for S. Garnsey.

LIST OF WORKS

MORE PARTICULARLY RELATING TO THE REVENUE of SCOTLAND.

- 1 Considerations and proposals for supplying the present scarcity of money, and advancing trade. By James Hodges, gent. Edinburgh, printed, an. 1705.
- 2 An inquiry into the reasonableness and consequences of an union with Scotland; also statements of the respective revenues, debts, weights, measures, taxes, impositions, &c. &c. of the two kingdoms. London, printed an. 1706.
- 3 An essay upon the fifteenth article of the treaty of union, wherein the difficulties that arise upon equivalents are fully cleared and explained. Printed an. 1706.

- 4 Considerations in relation to trade considered ; and a short view of our present trade and taxes, compared with what these taxes may amount to after the union. printed an. 1706.
- 5 A short view of our present trade and taxes, compared with what these taxes may amount to after the union ; with some reasons why (if we enter into an union) our trade should be under our own regulations. printed an. 1706.
- 6 The state of the excise after the union, compared with what it is now. Printed an. 1706.
- 7 The state of the excise, &c. vindicated from the remarks of the author of the short view, &c. Printed an. 1706.
- 8 An inquiry into the state of the union of Great Britain, and the past and present state of the trade and public revenues thereof. By the Wednesday's club in Friday-Street. London, printed an. 1717.
- 9 Observations on the bill for a sale of the forfeited estates ; with reasons against it, humbly offered to the consideration of both houses of parliament. Edinburgh, printed an. 1718.
- 10 The interest of Scotland considered with regard to its police, in employing the poor, its agriculture, trade, manufactures, and fisheries. London printed an. 1736.
- 11 A short view of the prejudice arising both to the country and revenue, from the imposition on ale and beer granted to the city of Edinburgh, and other boroughs of Scotland. Edinburgh, printed an. 1748.
- 12 An impartial account of the rise, progress, and nature of the scheme for augmenting the livings of the Scotch clergy. Edinburgh, printed, an. 1751.
- 13 An address to the noblemen, &c. proprietors of lands in Scotland, and the inhabitants at large, relative to the Scotch brewery. By John Cunningham. Printed an. 1781.
- 14 Truths, in answer to facts published respecting the Scottish distillery. Edinburgh, printed an. 1786.
- 15 The present state of the distillery of Scotland. By Walter Ross, writer to the signet. Edinburgh, printed an. 1786.
- 16 Resolutions of the landed interest of Scotland respecting the distillery ; with reasons why the duty upon British spirits should be levied by an annual licence upon the still, according to its contents. Edinburgh, printed an. 1786.
- 17 Observations on the distillery.
- 18 Case for the capital corn distillers of Scotland ; containing objections to a bill prepared to be presented to parliament, entitled, a bill for discontinuing the former duties on low wines and spirits, for granting other duties in lieu thereof, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1787.
- 19 Case of the distillers of corn spirits in North Britain. Printed an. 1787.
- 20 Answers for the corn distillers in Scotland, to the memorial of the corn distillers in London, presented to the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury. Printed an. 1788.
- 21 Memorial for the practitioners before inferior courts in Scotland, respecting the taxes imposed upon them Undated.

LIST OF WORKS

MORE PARTICULARLY RELATING TO

The REVENUE of IRELAND.

- 1 A direction for the plantation in Ulster; containing the means how to increase the revenue of the crown with a yearly very great sum. London, imprinted an. 1610.
- 2 An indenture, containing a grant of all his Majesty's revenue of Ireland to Sir James Shaen, and others, for seven years, commencing the 26th of September, 1675, inclusive, they paying unto his Majesty the sum of twenty thousand pounds the last day of every calendar month; the first payment of twenty thousand pounds to be completed and made at, or before, the last day of April 1676, and the last twenty thousand pounds, at, or before, the last day of March 1683, or within thirty days thereafter respectively. Dublin, printed an. 1676.
- 3 The interest of Ireland in its trade and wealth stated. In two parts. First part, observes and discovers the causes of Ireland's not more increasing in trade and wealth, from the first conquest till now. Second part, proposeth expedients to remedy all its mercantile maladies, and other wealth-wasting enormities, by which it is kept poor and low. By Richard Laurence esq. Dublin, printed an. 1682.
- 4 The case of the forfeitures in Ireland fairly stated; with the reasons that induced the protestants there to purchase them. London, printed an. 1700.
- 5 Proposals for raising a million of money out of the forfeited estates in Ireland, &c. Dublin, printed an. 1704.
- 6 A letter from a gentleman to the trustees of the Irish forfeitures. London, printed an. 1704.
- 7 Hiberniæ notitia; or, a list of the present officers in church and state, and of all payments to be made for civil and military affairs for the kingdom of Ireland, including all pensions on the civil and military lists both to English and foreigners. London, printed an. 1723.
- 8 A defence of the conduct of the people of Ireland in their unanimous refusal of Mr. Wood's copper money. Dublin, printed an. 1724.
- 9 A collection of tracts concerning the present state of Ireland, with respect to its riches, revenues, trade, and manufactures. London, printed an. 1729.
- 10 A list of the absentees of Ireland, and the yearly value of their estates and incomes spent abroad; with observations on the present trade and condition of that kingdom. By Matthew Prior. London, printed an. 1730.
- 11 Observations on coin in general; with some proposals for regulating the value of coin in Ireland. By Matthew Prior. London, printed an. 1730.
- 12 A proposal for the relief of Ireland, by a coinage of monies of gold and silver, and a national bank. London, printed an. 1733.
- 13 An infallible scheme to pay the public debt of this nation in six months. Dublin, printed an. 1740.
- 14 A collection of all the Irish and English statutes now in force and use relating to his Majesty's revenue in Ireland; with a view of the rates

- of goods and merchandizes imported and exported, &c. &c. By James Fleming. Dublin, printed an. 1741.
- 15 A discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued; nor brought under obedience of the crown of England, until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign. Printed exactly from the edition in 1612. London, reprinted an. 1747.
 - 16 A miscellany, including several tracts on various subjects, including the querist. By the bishop of Cloyne. London, printed an. 1752.
 - 17 A short account of his Majesty's hereditary revenue and private estate in the kingdom of Ireland. Dublin, printed an. 1753.
 - 18 Some observations relative to the late bill for paying off the residue of the national debt of Ireland. London, printed an. 1754.
 - 19 Considerations on the late bill for payment of the remainder of the national debt; in which the occasion of inserting the clause relative to his Majesty's consent, and the arguments in support of such right in the crown, are impartially stated. Dublin, printed an. 1754.
 - 20 Remarks on a pamphlet, entitled, considerations on the late bill for paying off the national debt. In three parts. With a supplement. Dublin, printed an. 1754.
 - 21 An answer to a pamphlet, entitled, the proceedings of the honourable house of commons of Ireland, in rejecting the altered money bill, on December 17, 1753, vindicated, so far as relates to the arguments of a pamphlet, entitled, considerations on the late bill for payment of the remainder of the national debt. Dublin, printed an. 1754.
 - 22 The proceedings of the honourable house of commons of Ireland, in rejecting the altered money bill, December 17, 1753, vindicated. Dublin, printed an. 1754.
 - 23 An answer to a part of a pamphlet, entitled, the proceedings of the honourable house of commons of Ireland, in rejecting the money bill, December 17, 1753, vindicated. Dublin, printed an. 1754.
 - 24 The case fairly stated; or, an inquiry how far the clause lately rejected by the honourable house of commons, would, if it had passed, have affected the liberties of the people of Ireland. Dublin, printed an. 1754.
 - 25 A question to be considered, previous to the rejection of the bill for paying off the national debt, upon account of inserting to the preamble his Majesty's previous consent. Dublin, printed an. 1754.
 - 26 A letter from a gentleman at Cork to his friend in Dublin, concerning the loan bill, rejected on the 17th of December, 1753. Dublin, printed an. 1754.
 - 27 An account of the revenue and national debt of Ireland; with some observations on the late bill for paying off the national debt, &c. &c. London, printed an. 1754.
- The state of Ireland laid open to the view of his Majesty's subjects. London, printed an. 1754.
- 29 Considerations on the revenues of Ireland, shewing the right, justice, and necessity of now applying the duties granted there for guarding of the seas, to naval service, &c. London, printed an. 1757.
 - 30 Paper credit considered, particularly relative to the late failures of bankers and receivers in Ireland; with a scheme for supplying the broken banks with cash, and the relief of their sufferers. Dublin, printed. London, reprinted an. 1760.
 - 31 An essay on the ancient and modern state of Ireland, with the various important advantages thereunto derived under the auspicious reign of his Majesty King George the Second. Dublin, printed an. 1760.
 - 32 An inquiry into the legality of pensions on the Irish establishment. By Alexander Macaulay, esq. London, printed an. 1763.

- 33 A letter to Sir L—s O——n, bart. on the late prorogation; and in answer to his letter to Mr. Faulkner, on the subject of the rejected money bill. Dublin, printed an. 1770.
- 34 A comparative state of the two rejected bills, in 1692 and 1769; with some observations on Poyning's act, and the explanatory statute of Philip and Mary. Dublin, printed an. 1770.
- 35 A comparative view of the public burdens of Great Britain and Ireland; with a proposal for putting both islands on an equality in regard to the freedom of foreign trade. London, printed an. 1772.
- 36 Observations on the brewing trade of Ireland, submitted to the public. By an officer of the revenue. Dublin, printed an. 1774.
- 37 A treatise of the exchequer and revenue of Ireland. By G. E. Howard, esq. In two volumes quarto. Dublin, printed an. 1776.
- 38 A view of the present state of Ireland; containing observations upon its trade, manufactures, agriculture, revenue, a national bank, and an absentee tax, &c. London, printed an. 1780.
- 39 A Plan for finally settling the government of Ireland upon constitutional principles, wherein an Irish land tax is strongly recommended. London, printed an. 1785.
- 40 Charts of the revenue of Ireland. By James Corry. Dublin, printed an. 1787.
- 41 An essay, containing a few strictures on the union of Scotland with England, and on the present situation of Ireland. London, printed an. 1787.

LIST OF WORKS

RESPECTING THE

FINANCES OF GREAT BRITAIN,

Written in the FRENCH LANGUAGE.

- 1 Remarques sur les avantages & les désavantages de la France & de la Grande Bretagne, par rapport au commerce & aux autres sources de la puissance des états. Par M. D'Angeuil. Leyde, imprimé an. 1754.
- 2 Bilan général & raisonné de l'Angleterre depuis 1600 jusqu'à la fin de 1761. Imprimé an. 1762.
- 3 Comparaison de l'impôt de France avec celui d'Angleterre. Londres, imprimé an. 1766.
- 4 Memoire sur l'administration des finances de l'Angleterre depuis le paix. Ouvrage attribué à M. Grenville. Traduit de l'Anglois à Londres, an. 1768. Mayence, 1768.
- 5 La richesse de l'Angleterre, l'état de la dette publique, &c. Vienne, an. 1771.
- 6 Traité de la circulation & du crédit; contenant une analyse raisonnée des fonds d'Angleterre. Par M. Pinto. Amsterdam, an. 1771.
- 7 Reflexions sur l'état actuel du credit publique de l'Angleterre & de la France. an. 1781.
- 8 Traité sur la finance: ouvrage utile aux Anglais, Français, &c. &c. Londres, an. 1784.
- 9 Histoire de l'administration de lord North, ministre des finances en Angleterre, depuis 1770 jusqu'en 1782, & de la guerre de l'Amerique Septentrionale.

- tentrionale jusqu'à la paix; suivie du tableau historique des finances d'Angleterre, depuis Guillaume III. jusqu'en 1784. Par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil. Londres, an. 1784.
- 10 Observations politiques, morales, & expérimentées, sur les vrais principes de la finance; suivies d'un essai sur les moyens de reforme pour les finances de la Grand Bretagne. Par M. Hey. Londres, an. 1784.
 - 11 Essai sur les ressources actuelles de Grande Bretagne, pour le rétablissement de ses finances. Traduit de l'Anglais de M. Craufurd, par M. Dieudé. Londres, an. 1785.
 - 12 Observations sur les finances de France, et discours sur les fonds, on stocks public de l'Angleterre, &c. &c. 4to. Bruxelles, an. 1760.
 - 13 Essai sur le credit commercial, et prospectus de la traduction de l'histoire des finances de la Grande Bretagne, de Sir John Sinclair, M. P. Par J. H. Marniere. A Paris, an. 1801.

A LIST

OF THE

PRINCIPAL WORKS

WRITTEN IN THE

GERMAN LANGUAGE upon the SUBJECT of REVENUE.

- 1 Baden: (Carl Friedr. Marckgraf zu:) Meine Antwort auf die Danckfagungen des Landes nach Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft, 1 Band. 4to. Carlruhe, 1783.
- 2 Becher: (Dr. Johann Joach:) Politischer Diskurs von den eigentlichen Ursachen des auf—und—abnehmens der staedte und Laender, verbefert von Dr. Z. H. Fincken, 2 Theile. 8vo. Franckfurt, 1784.
- 3 Busch: (Joh. Georg:) Abhandlung von dem Geldes-Umlauf in Ruckicht auf die Staats-Wirthschaft, &c. 2 B. Hamburg und Keil, 1780. 8vo.
- 4 Busching: (A. F.) Beschreibung seiner Reise von Berlin uber Potsdam nach Rekahn, 1 B. 8vo. Leipzig, 1775.
- 5 Beytrage: zur *Finanz Litteratur* in den Preussischen Staaten, 2 B. 8vo. Franckfurt, 1781.
- 6 Anmerkungen, allgemeine und besondere von einheimischen und fremden *Handel*, von Sammlung einigir Abgaben, 1 Theil. 4to. Leipzig, 1776.
- 7 Etwas uber allgemeine und besondere Anmerkungen von einheimischen *Handel*, 1 B. 4to. Leipzig, 1776.
- 8 Handlungs-Grundsaetze zur Wahren Aufnahme der Laender, 1 B. 8vo. Franckfurt, 1768.
- 9 Heynitz, Tabellen uber die Staatswirthschaft eines Europaeischen Staats der vierten Groesse, aus dem Franzoesischen, 1 Band. 4to. Leipzig, 1786.
- 10 Hornek: (Joh. von:) Oesterreich uber alles, wenn es nur will, ganz umgearbeitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von B. F. Hermann, 1 Band. 8vo. Berlin und Stettin, 1784.
- 11 Hunger: (Joh. Godfr.) Kurze Geschichte der Abgaben, besonders der Consumptions—und—Handels—Abgaben in Sachsen nebst ihrer Wirkung auf die Preisse der Waaren und Lebensmittel, 1 B. 8vo. Dresden, 1783.

- 12 Ifelin (Ifaac) Ephemeriden der Menschheit, oder Bibliothek der Sittenlehre, der Politik und der Gesetzgebung, 12mo. Basel.
 Jahrgaenge 1777. 12 Stucke.
 1778. 12
 1780. 12
 1781. 12
 1782. 12
- 13 ——— Träume eines Menschenfreundes, 2 Theile, 12mo. Basel, 1776.
- 14 Justi (Johann Heinrich Gottl. v.) Staatswirthschaft, 2 T. Leipzig, 1755, 8vo.
- 15 ——— Die Grundfeste zu der Macht und Gluckseligkeit der Staaten, 2 B. 4to. Königsberg, 1760
- 16 ——— Abhandlung von den Steuern und Abgaben, 1 Band, 8vo. Königsberg, 1762.
- 17 ——— System des Finanzwesens, 1 B. 4to. Hall, 1766.
- 18 Kornhandel der freye, als das beste Mittel Mangel und Theurung zu verhüten, &c. 1 B. 8vo. Hannover, 1772.
- 19 Lith (Wilhelm von der) Politische Betrachtungen über die verschiedenen Arten von Steuern, 1 B. 8vo. Breslau, 1751.
- 20 ——— Die wahren Mittel zur Vergroesserung eines Staats, 8vo. Berlin.
- 21 Mauvillon: (T.) Physiokratische Briefe an den Hⁿ Prof. Dohm. 1 B. 8vo. Braunschweig, 1780.
- 22 Pfeiffer, Berichtigungen berühmter Staatz, Finanz, Polizey, Kameral, Kommerz, und Oekonomischer Schriften dieses Jahrhunderts von dem Verfasser des Lehrbegriffs, &c. 6 Baende, 8vo. Hanau, 1781.
- 23 Reimarus, Die wichtige frage von der freyen Aus-und-Einfuhr des Getraides, nach der Natur und Geschichte untersucht, 1 B. 8vo. Hamburg, 1771.
- 24 Scharnweber (J. L. F. Beurtheilung der wichtigen frage:) Ob es für einen Ackerbau treibenden Staat gerathner sey, einen gesetzlichen Korn Preis auf ein oder mehrere Jahre einzuführen? oder.
 Ob es nicht minder bedenklich sey, den Kornhandel jedermann frey zu geben und die Aus-und Einfuhr ausser dem allerhöchsten Nothfall niemahlen einzuschranken oder zu verbieten? Goettingen, 1771.
- 25 Schlettwein (Joh. Aug.) Mittel das allgemeine Elend aufzuhalten, und die Schulden eines Staats zu tilgen, 1 B. Carlruhe, 1773, 8vo.
- 26 ——— Die wichtigste Angelegenheit für das ganze publicum, oder die natürliche Ordnung der Politik, 2 B. 8vo. Carlruhe, 1773.
- 27 ——— Erläuterung und Vertheidigung der natürlichen Ordnung, 1 B. 8vo. Carlruhe, 1772.
- 28 ——— Grundfeste der Staaten oder die politische Oekonomie, 1 Band. Gießen. 1779.
- 29 ——— Schriften für alle Staaten zur Aufklärung der Ordnung der Natur und Staats Regierungs und Finanzwesen, 1 B. 8vo. Carlruhe, 1775.
- 30 ——— Archiv für die Menschen und Bürger in allen Verhältnissen, 8 B. 8vo. Leipzig, 1780.
- 31 ——— Neues Archiv für den Menschen und Bürger, 3 B. 8vo. Leipzig, 1786.
- 32 Schloesser: (T. G.) Xenocrates oder über die Abgaben, an Goethe. 1 Band. 12mo. Basel, 1784.
- 33 Die Kunst, ohne Mißwachs *theure Zeiten* zu machen, nebst den bewährtesten Mitteln darwider, 1 B. 8vo. Erfurt, 1771.
- 34 Rettungsmittel, das ohnfehlbare wider alle *Theurung*. 1 B. 8vo. Leipzig, 1772.

- 35 Sendschreiben drey, die Rettungsmittel wider alle *Theuerung* betreffend, 1 Band. 8vo. Leipzig, 1772.

The compte de Zinzendorf adds, that of the works above-mentioned, the 12th, 13th, 25th, and 31st numbers are particularly intitled to attention: containing observations, not only upon government in general, and a discussion of the taxes of the different nations in Europe; but also the principles upon which finances ought to be regulated, in a manner the best calculated for the general interests of society.

The following is a list of the best works, written in Holland upon commerce and finances.

- 1 *J. Le Long, Koophandel*, van Amsterdam. 2 Deelen. Octavo.
- 2 *Verhandelingen van de Maatschappij te Haarlem*. 21 Deelen. Octavo.
- 3 *Verhandelingen van het Zeeuwfche Genootfchap*. 10 Deelen. Octavo.
- 4 *De Koopman*. In Verschijde Vertoogen. Octavo.
- 5 *Manier van Negotie*.
- 6 *Koopmans, Zak-Bock*. Octavo.
- 7 *Koopmans, Hand-Bock*. Octavo.
- 8 *E. Lufac*. Hollands Rykder. 2 Deelen. Octavo.
- 9 *Ludovic, Koopmans Systeem*. Quarto.
- 10 *Cras, over den Koophandel*. Quarto.
- 11 *Maij, Koopmans Vertuifing*, 1768. 4 Stukken. Octavo.
- 12 *Handleiding tot de Hollandfche Koophandel*. 1754. Octavo.
- 13 *De Schrandere Hollandfche Koop-Handelaar*.

In Denmark the best publications on finance are the following.

- 1 Andreas Schytte's Danmarks og Norges Naturlige og Politiske forfatning. 1 Deel. Kiöbenhavn, 1777. 8vo.
- 2 ——— Staternes Udvortes Regering i two Deele. Kiöbenhavn, 1774-75. 8vo.
- 3 ——— Indvortes Regering i 5 Deele. Kiöbenhavn, 8vo.
- 4 O. D. Lutkens Anmærkning ved Andr. Schyttes Sætninger. Odense, 1774. 8vo.
- 5 Eutropii Philadelphi, i. e. Erii Pontoppidani Oeconomiske Balance. Kiöbenh. 1759.
- 6 Philocofmi, i. e. Chr. Martfelds Betænkninger over Vigtige Politiske Materier. Kiöbenhavn, 1771.
- 7 Lutkens Underfogning om nu værende Forhindringer for Folke mængden. Kiöbenhavn, 1761.
- 8 N. C. Claussens Priskrift om Folke mængden, i Bondestanden. Kiöbenh. 1772. 8vo.
- 9 C. Fabricius ueber die Volksvermehrung Dannemarks. 1780. 8vo.
- 10 Th. Badens Efterretning om Indretningerne paa Godset Bernsdorf. Kiöbenh. 8vo.
- 11 Chr. Martfelds Plan for Kornhandelen i Danmark og Norge.
- 12 August Henning's Pragmatiske Bidrag Til Kornpolitiets Historie. Kiöbenhavn, 1787. 8vo.
- 13 Fabricius Breve om Vaarned Re Tighhedens Indflydelse & Afstakfelse. Kiöbenh. 1786.
- 14 J. H. Wiehe ueber die Daenifche Bankzettel, Handels balanz und den Ostindifchen Handel. Kiöbenhavn, 1788.

ADDITIONAL PUBLICATIONS ON FINANCE.

The following Books were omitted in the Catalogue.

- 1 An essay on circulation and credit. From the French of Monsieur de Pinto. Translated, with annotations, by the rev. S. Baggs. One volume Quarto. London, printed an. 1774.
- 2 A treatise of the revenue and false money of the Romans. Translated from the French. One volume Octavo. London, printed an. 1741.
- 3 The miscellaneous works of lord viscount Bolingbroke; containing reflections on the state of the nation, principally with regard to her taxes and her debts, and on the causes and consequences of them. In four volumes Octavo. Edinburgh, printed an. 1773.
- 4 Memoirs concerning the trade and revenues of the British colonies in America. By John Ashley, esq. In two parts. London, printed 1740 and 1743.
- 5 The wallet, a supplementary exposition of the budget. Quarto. London, printed an. 1764.
- 6 Comparison of the proposals of the bank and South Sea Company. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 7 An argument to shew the disadvantage that would accrue to the public, from obliging the South Sea Company to fix what capital stock they will give for the annuities. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 8 Letter of thanks from the author of — to the author of —. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 9 Considerations occasioned by the bill for enabling the South Sea Company to increase their capital stock. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 10 A visit to the South Sea Company and the bank. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 11 Remarks on the celebrated calculations of the value of South Sea stock. No date.
- 12 Observations on trade and a public spirit, by John Baston, esq. Octavo. 1732.
- 13 The history of our national debt. Three parts. Octavo. London, printed an. 1761.
- 14 View of the internal policy of Great Britain, by — Wallace. London, printed an. 1764.
- 15 The crisis of property. By Sir R. Steele. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 16 A letter to the patriots of 'change alley. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 17 Matter of fact, or the arrangement and trial of the South Sea directors. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 18 Remarks on several pamphlets written in opposition to the South Sea scheme. Octavo. London, printed an. 1720.
- 19 An inquiry into the state of the union of Great Britain, and the past and present state of the trade and revenue thereof. By Mr. Paterfon, projector of the bank of England *.

* It is supposed, that several writers on finance, have derived much assistance in forming plans for the reduction of the national debt, from this useful publication.

- 20 A survey of trade. In four parts, with considerations on our money and bullion. By Wm. Wood, (the Irish halfpence contractor.) London, printed an. 1718.
- 21 Observations on a late state of the nation. Quarto. London, printed an. 1769.
- 22 An estimate of the comparative strength of Great Britain. By George Chalmers. Octavo. London, printed an. 1782.
- 23 The true English interest. By Carew Reynel. London, printed an. 1674.
- 24 The interest of Ireland. By Richard Lawrence esq. The second part of this treats of banks and trading corporations. Dublin, printed an. 1682.
- 25 England's guide to industry. London, printed an. 1683.
- 26 Essays on trade and navigation. By Sir Francis Brewster. London, printed an. 1695.
- 27 A brief examination into the increase of the revenue, commerce and manufactures of Great Britain from 1792 to 1799. Supposed to be written by the right hon. George Rose. London, printed an. 1799.
- 28 An inquiry into the state of the finances of Great Britain, in answer to Mr. Morgan's facts. By Nicholas Vanfittart, esq. Second edition, London, printed an. 1796.

Abstract of the preceding Catalogue.

In Folio.	{ Books	—	—	—	—	12
	{ Pamphlets		—		—	10
In Quarto.	{ Books	—	—	—	—	29
	{ Pamphlets		—		—	115
In Octavo.	{ Books	—		—	—	58
	{ Pamphlets (including such as are undated)				—	362
Works on the revenue of Scotland				—	—	21
Ditto on the revenue of Ireland			—		—	41
Additional publications		—		—	—	28
						<hr/> 676
Works written in the French language			—		—	12
Ditto ——— in the German		—			—	35
Ditto ——— in the Dutch			—		—	13
Ditto ——— in the Danish		—			—	14
						<hr/> Total — 750

APPENDIX.

No. III.

ACCOUNT of the EXCISES and other TAXES levied in the Provinces of HOLLAND and UTRECHT.

THE taxes raised in Holland, and in the other provinces of the Dutch republic, are either appropriated to defray the general expences of the commonwealth, or levied for the purposes of the particular towns or districts where they are collected.

As each state imposes its own taxes, and exacts them in any manner it thinks proper, disputes sometimes occur respecting the equality of the different rates, and a contest having arisen upon this subject between the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, committees were appointed to examine the nature and amount of their respective taxes and revenues, with a view of determining how far the proportions of the two provinces were fairly adjusted.—From the comparison drawn up upon that occasion (which was printed in the Dutch language) the following account is taken. It will explain to the reader the mode of levying taxes in a country, regarding which our information, in various points, has been rather incomplete and defective; and it proves how many sources of taxation exist there, with which we are as yet fortunately unacquainted.

The author once intended to have stated the sums mentioned in the following account in sterling money; but as the Dutch weights and measures of pounds, muids, lasts, stoups, canns, aams, and dankers, cannot be so easily converted into English weights and measures, he was convinced that it would not prove of any great utility. It may be sufficient to remark that the Dutch accounts are kept in florins, stivers, and pennings. That a florin or guilder is nearly equal to one shilling and ninepence (eleven guilders being about a pound sterling), that eleven stivers make a shilling sterling, and sixteen pennings a stiver. Thus the reader who may be desirous of knowing the exact rate of excise duty paid on any article, may easily make the calculation. But the important object for us to know, is, the different articles that are excised, and, in some cases, in what manner the duty is levied.

1. EXCISES in the Province of Holland.

WINE.

Inn-keepers and citizens pay the same duty on all sorts of wine, without distinction; namely, four stivers *per* stoup, and $\frac{1}{8}$ h augmentation.

Hence

ANALYSIS OF THE

		Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Hence for an aam, or 64 Dutch stoups (equal to 40 English gallons)	—	12	16	—
$\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.	—	1	5	10
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Stamp or permit	—	14	1	10
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		14	10	10

2. RECTIFIED SPIRITS.

The stoup of Amsterdam pays six stivers, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

		Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Hence an aam	—	19	4	—
$\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	1	18	6
Stamp or permit	—	1	4	—
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		22	6	6

3. MEAD.

This article pays the same excise duties, augmentation, and stamp, as wine.

		Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Hence per aam	—	14	10	10

4. BRANDY and DISTILLED WATERS.

These articles pay the same excise and augmentation, as mead and wine, but the stamp is higher.

		Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Thus an aam	—	14	1	10
Stamp	—	1	4	—
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
		15	5	10

5. TOBACCO.

Merchants dealing in snuff or tobacco, having no retail shop, pay yearly for a license — 25 — —
 Shopkeepers retailing tobacco pay yearly for the liberty of dealing in that article, according to the quantity they sold the preceding year.

		Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Thus when they sell less than 500lb.		3	3	—
From 500 to 1,000	—	6	6	—
From 1,000 to 1,500	—	12	—	—
From 1,500 to 2,000	—	25	—	—
From 2,000 and upwards	—	50	—	—

Hence

Hence snuff or tobacco consumed in Holland, when reckoned at the highest, is only taxed at the rate of a halfpenny *per* pound.

	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Keepers of coffee-houses pay yearly for a license to sell tobacco, if at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Hague so	—	—	—
If at Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leyden, Delft, and Gouda	—	12	—
In the other towns and villages of Holland	—	8	—

6. BEER.

Innkeepers and citizens pay alike, *viz.*

	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
For a barrel or ton	—	1	10
$\frac{1}{8}$ th augmentation	—	—	3
Stamp	—	—	6
		1	19

Beer used by labourers in the harvest time, or brewed in the months of June, July, or August (on account of the warmth of the weather), pays but one-half of the excise.

7. GRAIN used in BREWING.

Brewers pay for the grain they make use of, according to the following rates:

	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
For the last of wheat	—	3	—
For the last of rye	—	3	10
For the last of barley or buck wheat	—	1	—
Free of the $\frac{1}{8}$ th augmentation.			
The brewers also pay every time they brew for the public	—	1	9
Stamp	—	—	12
		2	1
			8
When for their own consumption	—	—	12

8. VINEGAR.

	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Vinegar made of wine or cyder pays the 80 stoups of Amsterdam, or five ankers	—	4	16
$\frac{1}{8}$ th augmentation	—	—	9
Stamp	—	—	12
		5	17
			10
Artificial vinegar made of figs, plums, &c. for every five ankers	—	3	12
$\frac{1}{8}$ th augmentation	—	—	7
Stamp	—	—	12
		4	11
			4

Vinegar made of beer pays for each ton, containing	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
62½ fouds of Amsterdam, or nearly 86 Utrecht cans	1	5	—
$\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	2	8
Stamp	—	—	6
	1	13	8

9. EXCISE on GROUND CORN.

	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Wheat and Egyptian barley pay <i>per</i> laft	—	95	18
$\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	9	10
	104	18	12
Total <i>per</i> laft	—	42	7
Rye <i>per</i> laft, including $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	23	2
Oats, barley, and beans <i>per</i> laft, including $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	—	—
But if the beans are ground to fatten cattle they are free of duty.	—	—	—
Buck wheat <i>per</i> laft, including $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	8	5	8
Flour of buck wheat, if imported, pays <i>per</i> 100lb. weight, including $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	6	12
Hence <i>per</i> laft of 4,500lb.	297	—	—
Meal of oats, or barley, pays eight stivers <i>per</i> sack, and $\frac{1}{12}$ th augmentation.	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Hence <i>per</i> laft	—	12	6
Starch, bread, biscuit flour, gingerbread, and all sorts of cakes, are prohibited being imported from foreign countries.	—	—	—
The importation of bread and flour from the country to the walled towns, is also forbid.	—	—	—
Bread and flour brought from one town to another without this province, pay once more the half of the excise.	—	—	—
	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
The country people in lieu of this excise on corn, pay <i>per</i> head if they consume wheat	—	3	15
If rye	—	1	17
Children from four to 10 years of age are only charged at the rate of half a head; all above 10 years pay the full tax.	—	—	4

10. SOAP.

	Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
For the boiling of a ton of soap, weighing 240 lb. } including $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	13	4
Excise on every ton of green soap	—	9	—
$\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	—	18
Stamp	—	—	9
	10	7	4

Bleachers of cloths are free of one-half of this excise. Bleachers of new-made linen and yarn are wholly exempted; but both pay the whole excise for what they consume, or use in their own families.

11. SALT.

11. SALT.

		Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
There is paid for every sack	—	2	10	—
$\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	—	5	—
Stamp	—	—	9	—
		<hr/>		
		3	4	—

Cowkeepers pay according to the number of their cattle.

For every sack — 7 8 8

And four cows are allowed for the consumption of each sack. But this is only a mode of rating the probable consumption of that commodity in different families, and raising a tax upon the salt used in their making cheese and butter.

		Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
Pickle pays <i>per</i> anker, (forty English quarts)	—	—	18	12
$\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	—	1	14
Stamp	—	—	4	—
		<hr/>		
		1	4	10

12. BUTTER.

		Florins.	Stivers.	Pennings.
A ton or cask of butter, containing 320 lb. pays of excise	—	4	—	—
$\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation	—	—	8	—
Stamp	—	—	12	—
		<hr/>		
		5	—	—

13. BUTCHERS MEAT, POULTRY, &c.

All sorts of cattle, oxen, cows, calves, hogs, poultry, &c. when killed, pay an excise of one-seventh of their value, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

Salt meat also imported from abroad, and salted with unrefined salt, pays the seventh penny of its value, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation. All other salt meat, pickled pork, sausages, and even tripe, pay in addition (*per* ton) the sum of

— F. — 12 —
All meat, pork, &c. exported, receives a drawback of one-third of the duty paid. If made use of by the East India Company, there is a drawback *per* 100 lb. of — F. — 11 12

If sold for the use of either the great, or of the small fishery, there is a drawback, for every 100 lb. of meat of — F. 1 5 2
100 lb of pork of — 3 3 8

It is singular that the Dutch should call the herring, the *great*, and the whale, the *small* fishery.

14. TURF and COALS.

Black or short digged turf pays *per* ton 4 stivers, including the $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation. Thus the 5 tons — F. 1. — —
Grey turf 2 pence *per* ton, consequently *per* 5 tons — 10 —
Turf used by manufacturers, *per* 5 tons — 16 4
By

By brewers, distillers, dyers, &c. <i>per</i> 5 tons	—	F. —	13	12
For refining salt, making lime, earthen-ware, tiles, and bricks, <i>per</i> five tons	—	—	6	14
Small coals pay <i>per</i> hood for brewers, distillers, dyers, and sugar refiners, including 7 th augmentation	—	F. 5	5	16
For bottle and glass manufacturers, and iron founders	—	—	1	12
And for all other people	—	—	6	3 4
Great coals sold by the weight, pay for a hundred scales of 14,000 pounds, for brewers, &c.	—	F. 39	12	—
For all other persons	—	—	46	4
Thimble manufacturers, in compliment to the industry and labours of the fair sex, are free.	—	—	—	—

15. EXCISE on COFFEE and TEA.

This excise is levied in three different ways.

I. According to the income which the possessor of a public office is known to receive, in the following proportions:

If producing <i>per annum</i> F. 1,500 or above it, the annual tax is	F. 15
1,200	12
800	8
600	6
500	4
400	3
300	2

II. The second mode of taxing is according to the number of servants a person keeps.

Thus for 5 servants or more	F. 20
4	16
3	12
2	8
1	4

III. But if a person is neither possessed of a place under government, nor keeps any servant, he pays according to his last year's income.

Thus if F. 800 or more was his last year's income	F. 6
600	4
500	3
400	2
300	1

People whose income is under F. 300 or 26*l.* 5*s.* sterling, are exempted.

If any person, being taxed according to the place he holds in a public office, was thereby to pay less than if he was taxed according to the number of his servants, he is obliged to pay according to the second mode.

In the same manner if a person keeps one servant, and has an income of only 800 florins, he pays according to his income, being the highest rate.

Dealers in coffee and tea are taxed in proportion to the quantity which they purchase to retail. If they keep in their shop 5 lb. of tea and 10 lb. of coffee, they pay

From 20 lb. of tea and 40 lb. of coffee	F. 4
40	75
80	150 and upwards

including the consumption of their families.

Coffeehouse-keepers pay yearly at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Hague

150
At

At Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leyden, and Goude	—	F. 60
In the other voting cities	—	25
And in the remaining towns and villages	—	15

16. The WEIGHING EXCISE.

There is commonly paid for every 100 lb. weight, including $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation

F. 3 4

But various articles, as spiceries, teas, groceries, &c. pay more; which addition, however, is generally stated to the account of such foreigners as order those goods from Holland. Hemp and hemp yarn pay only — F. 1 8 and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

17. FRUITS.

All sorts of fruit, wherever produced, if sold in the province, pays an excise of the eighth penny of its value. Filberts and chefnuts imported from abroad pay the twelfth penny, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

Fruit, the produce of one's own garden, or purchased to be made in a present, is free.

18. EXCISE on CATTLE.

For every head of cattle, three years old and upwards, there is to be paid for the summer season, from the 1st April to 30th September, *per month*

F. 6

For the winter season, from 1st October to 31st March

3

Which is at the rate of 54 stivers, or nearly 5 s. sterling *per annum*.

Cattle becoming in April or October 2 years old, pay one-half.

These taxes are also subject to the $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

19. FERRY and PASSAGE DUTY.

All masters of ships, and proprietors of boats, coaches, and carriages, must pay one-fourth of the sum they receive for freight or hire, and the $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

20. EXCISE on OFFICES.

All places held under government pay a certain duty.

N. B. The particulars are not set down in the account, as this is a *tender subject* in Holland as well as in other countries; but if this duty is founded on the fair principles of Dutch taxation, the rate would increase in proportion to the sum received, which is the only equal mode of taxing an income of that nature.

21. STAMP DUTIES.

The particular mode of levying these duties in the province of Holland, is not specified in this account.

22. EXCISE on SERVANTS.

For keeping 1 servant	—	—	—	F. 6 9 10
2	—	—	—	19 4 10
3	—	—	—	30 13 4
4	—	—	—	44 6 12
5	—	—	—	64 4 6

And for all servants above five an additional tax of 10 florins each.

Farm-

Farmers, gardeners, bakers, bleachers, refiners, mealmen, millers, butchers, brewers, soap-boilers, and other manufacturers, pay for all servants which they keep for the sake of their business, but not for their families, *per head*

F. 3

23. EXCISE on COACHES and HORSES.

A coach or covered carriage with four wheels, drawn by six horses, *pays yearly*

F. 100

If drawn by 4 horses

75

3

60

2

50

For an open waggon, or a covered or uncovered chaise

30

For a carriage drawn by a single horse

20

A riding horse *pays yearly*

15

And all these taxes pay $\frac{1}{15}$ th augmentation.

Farmers are free, in so far as respects their wagons, carts, or sledges used for their farms, or to go to market; but they must pay for a chaise or pleasure carriage one-fifth, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

Livery-stable keepers, and those who let carriages, pay according to the number of horses they keep.

For 1 horse yearly

F. 20

2 and 3

40

4

60

5

80

6

100

And for more than 6 horses

120

But from this is deducted the sum they pay to the ferry and passage duty, being one-fourth of their fare, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

There is also paid, without distinction of owners, for every horse 2 years old and more, an *ear duty*, as it is called, of 2 stivers *per month*, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation.

From 1 to 2 years old, one penny *per month*.

All horses under 1 year old, or not worth 15 florins, are exempted.

24. TAX on SOWN LANDS.

For all ground sown with corn, whether with hard, soft, round, or flat seed, or with onions, turneps, carrots, potatoes, madder, &c. (a species of turnep called *stoppelknollen* excepted) there is to be paid for every morgen (being equal to two English acres) for the summer season, from 10th April to the last of September, *per month*

F. 4 8

And for the winter season, *per month*

2 8

But in general this excise is converted into a tax *per morgen* for the whole summer season of

F. 1 2

And for the winter season

13 4

25. HARDWARE and LEAD.

An excise on hardware is also levied in Holland, but the particulars are not mentioned. Lead pays 5 stivers, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th augmentation *per 100lb*.

26. VARIOUS TAXES.

There are various taxes paid in the province of Holland, the particulars of which are not mentioned in this account, there being nothing parallel in

5.

Utrecht.

Utrecht. It appears, however, that duties are laid on marriages, on burials, on wood for burning, on newspapers, on periodical pamphlets, &c.

27. TITHES.

The fifth penny of the yearly income arising from tithes is paid in Holland, together with the 100th and 200th penny by edict in 1772. Thus the half of this revenue is exacted.

28. EXCISE on the ALIENATION of GOODS.

The 40th penny and $\frac{1}{10}$ augmentation, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is paid on the sale or alienation of all goods and chattels, whether real or personal, excepting fish, garden or field products, tithes, horses, oxen, and other cattle.

29. EXCISE on COLLATERAL SUCCESSIONS.

There is paid in Holland the 10th penny and $\frac{1}{10}$ augmentation of all sum obtained in a collateral way, to which the acquirer had no title excepting by the will of the deceased; or if such acquirer is farther removed according to the rules of the civil law, than four degrees from the person whom he succeeds.

The 15th penny and $\frac{1}{10}$ augmentation of what the husband or wife acquire from one another, if they leave no children got between them.

The 20th penny and $\frac{1}{10}$ augmentation in all other cases and successions *in linea ascendente*.

30. HOUSE and CHIMNEY DUTY.

A new survey of houses was made in 1733, and every house was charged the 12th penny of the rent that it either paid, or was supposed to be worth at that time. There was afterwards an additional 12th penny imposed, according to the same survey. The houses in the country are taxed low, and no chimney duty is exacted in this province.

31. LAND TAX.

For every morgen there is paid an ordinary poundage, and also the 200th penny as an extraordinary poundage. In some districts the best lands are taxed, *per morgen*, at the rate of F. 3 8 6—middling at F. 2 10—and inferior ground at F. 2.

The last survey was taken in 1654; the method then adopted is not exactly known, but it is said, that the land was estimated at the rent which it was supposed it was worth at the time, and no alteration has since been made.

Such is a general view of the taxes levied in the province of Holland, to which there might be added various duties exacted in Amsterdam for its sole benefit and advantage. There being additional taxes levied in that city on wines, brandy, beer, ground corn, imported corn, cattle killed, turfs, coals, fire-wood, fruits, houses, carriages and merchandises of different kinds; but the subject is not of importance sufficient to require a particular discussion.

II. EXCISES in the Province of UTRECHT.

1. WINE.

Inn-keepers pay for Rhenish, Spanish, Burgundy, and Champagne wines	
<i>per aam</i>	F. 35 4
Citizens only	24 4
Inn-keepers pay for other French wines, <i>per aam</i>	31 28
<i>Vol. III.</i>	<i>[K].</i>
	Citizens

Citizens only

F. 22 —

Whereas in the province of Holland, the same duty is paid without any distinction in regard to the nature or quality of the wine, or the persons from whom it is exacted.

2. RECTIFIED SPIRITS.

Distilled spirits pay at the rate of F. 1 10 a cann. Thus an aam F. 132 —
Stamp — — — 1 1

Gin or malt wine pays per aam, including the stamp — 133 1
124 5

3. MEAD.

This article pays at the rate 10d. a cann. Thus per aam, including the stamp — — — F. 45 1

4. BRANDY and DISTILLED WATERS.

These articles pay 12 stivers a cann. Thus per aam, including the stamp — — — F. 53 17

Gin and other distilled waters pay per aam, including the stamp 45 1

Thus it appears that spirituous liquors are higher excised in Utrecht than in Holland, owing to the latter being a maritime and distilling country.

5. TOBACCO.

The excise upon every pound of snuff and tobacco, without distinction of sorts and prices, is 3 stivers, which is above 3d. sterling.

6. BEER.

Beer brewed in the province, and consumed at the place where it is made, pays the following rates per ton:

Tavern keepers	—	—	—	F. 6 2 8
Alehouse-keepers	—	—	—	3 7 —
Private individuals	—	—	—	2 7 —

Foreign beer is charged higher.

7. GRAIN used in BREWING.

Brewers pay for the corn they use, per last of wheat F. 25 — —

Of malt or oats — — — 8 9 14

In Utrecht they make no use of rye in brewing. When corn is high they diminish the excise one third.

8. VINEGAR.

Vinegar made of wine pays per 5 ankers — — — F. 8 18 13

If made of beer a ton of 90 canns pays — — — 8 3 —

9. EXCISE ON GROUND CORN.

Wheat pays per last of 25 muds — — — F. 223 15 —
besides the stamp.

Rye per last, besides the stamp — — — 62 10 —

Gingerbread bakers (besides a stamp) per last — — — 85 — —

Barley, beans, and pease, per last, — — — 27 10 —

But the duty is lower if barley or beans are ground to fatten cattle.

Oats pay per last — — — 25 — —

Buck wheat per last — — — 6 5 —

Flour of wheat, 100lb. pays — — — 2 10 —

Thus the last of 4,500lb. — — — 212 10 —

Flour

Flour of rye, 100lb.	—	—	F. 1 10 —
Thus <i>per</i> last	—	—	67 10 —
Gingerbread, 100lb.	—	—	6 — —
Every ton or barrel with biscuits	—	—	2 — —

All persons in the province of Utrecht are obliged to provide themselves with at least 4 muids of flour. The importation of bread from the country to the towns is prohibited. In the country this tax is in general converted into a species of poll tax, every individual paying from 2 florins to F. 2 10 *per* head, according to circumstances.

10. SOAP.

Every ton of 240lb. of green or soft soap, pays	—	F. 2 16
Woolcombers pay only	—	5 4
Spanish soap <i>per</i> pound, pays	—	1 —
But manufacturers are only charged	—	— 2

11. SALT.

For every sack of refined salt there is paid at Utrecht	—	F. 1 5
At Amersfort	—	1 3

12. BUTTER.

By edict 1750, for every cask of butter weighing 320lb. but containing only 280lb. of butter, there is paid	—	F. 9 2
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13. BUTCHERS MEAT.

Butchers and others who kill cattle for the market, pay at Amersfort the following rates:

For an ox	—	F. 14 16 —
For cows and young cattle of 2 years old	—	9 19 2
For a calf	—	2 14 4
For a sheep or lamb	—	1 1 10

At Utrecht the same excise is paid for oxen; but for cows, &c. there is levied

—	—	10 7 —
---	---	--------

Private families pay $\frac{1}{12}$ of all the oxen, &c. killed for their own consumption, together with the following rates:

For an ox	—	F. 7 1 —
For a cow, and all cattle of 2 years old	—	4 11 2
For hog or pig	—	1 14 2
For a calf	—	— 19 2
For a sheep or lamb	—	— 12 2
Porkmen pay for every hog or pig	—	3 — —
For every pound of smoked or salt meat, pork hams, &c. brought from the province into the country of Utrecht, there is paid an excise of	—	F. — 2
And if imported from abroad	—	1 —

14. TURF and COALS.

Within the city of Utrecht foreign hard turf pays <i>per</i> 4 bags	F. 12 — —
Utrecht turf	16 — —
Turf for brewers, &c. <i>per</i> ditto	9 2 —
For earthenware-makers	3 2 —
Small coals for the use of manufacturers, pay <i>per</i> hood	5 6 —
Other people pay	6 4 —

Large coals pay per 14,000lb. weight, if used by manufacturers F. 38 17 23
 If by private individuals ———— 44 18 5
But persons who in their manufactories cannot use any thing else than coals, may be exempted from this excise by requesting it.

15. EXCISE on COFFEE and TEA.

In Utrecht, Amersfort, and their liberties, all families are divided into six classes, according to their apparent consumption; each family is rated for a certain number of persons, beyond which the contribution does not increase. Children under 4 years are not reckoned. From 4 to 10 they are charged at the rate of one-half, two making one head. Servants are included in the calculation of the family.

The first class, consisting of 9 in family, pay yearly per head	F. 3 —
The second class of 8 persons pay per head	2 15
The third class of 7 persons	2 10
The fourth class of 6 persons	2 5
The fifth class of 5 persons	2 —
The sixth class of 4 persons	2 15

Nobody is exempted from being included in these classes; but such as are extremely poor, or those who can make oath before the justices of their parish, that they never make use of, or drink any coffee or tea themselves, and in so far as they know, that it is not used or drank by any one in their family.

Coffee-house-keepers, tavern and inn-keepers, are taxed according to the apparent consumption in their respective houses.

Wholesale dealers in coffee and tea pay yearly for a license	F. 16
Retailers	9

16. The WEIGHING EXCISE.

The excise for every 100lb. weight including the inspector, is	F. — 3 —
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17. FRUITS.

The particulars of the excise on fruits in this province are not specified. From this duty the fruit belonging to citizens, if consumed by themselves and not sold, is exempted.

18. EXCISE on CATTLE.

For the six summer months there is paid for oxen, bullocks, and fat cows, native or foreign, per month	F. — 7 8
For a cow giving milk	— 9 —
For young cattle 2 years old	— 4 8
For a bullock 2 years old	— 3 12

Oxen reared in the province are free till their third year,

During the winter season nothing is paid.

In some poor districts there is only paid one-half of this excise, and Maarn and Maarsbergen, on account of their peculiar poverty are entirely exempted.

19. FERRY and PASSAGE DUTY.

For every ship or boat there is paid an excise of one-fourth of their freight; and by every passenger in a common stage waggon not going out of the province

This tax varies according to the circumstances of the case.

F. 3

20. EXCISE

20. EXCISE on OFFICES.

There is levied a duty on all the eminent charges of the state for the public benefit, the amount of which is not specified; likewise the 100th penny, or 1 per cent, on all benefices or offices, civil, military or ecclesiastical.

21. STAMPS.

In the province of Utrecht there is levied by way of stamp duty on all accounts or bills of tradesmen, shop-keepers, butchers, bakers, doctors, surgeons, &c. according to the following rates:

From F. 25 to F. 60	—	—	F. — 6
60	100	—	— 10
100	400	—	1 —
400	800	—	2 —
800	1,200	—	3 —

22. SERVANTS.

For all domestic servants there is paid *per head* — F. 6

The servants employed by farmers, gardeners, bakers, butchers, inn-keepers, manufacturers, &c. are charged only 3 florins.

23. HORSE TAX.

There is charged for every horse used in carriages, or in riding *per annum* — F. 16 —

For working horses absolutely necessary for manufacturers — 2 8

For horses kept by dealers in horses, or by butchers, brewers, &c. 13 —

For small horses not higher than 11 hands, and young horses if used 4 —

Hackney-coach masters and livery-stable keepers pay for every horse 2 8

The working horses of farmers in the country are exempted.

24. TAX on SOWN LANDS.

In the province of Utrecht there is a general excise on all arable ground, whether sown or unsown, of 15 florins *per morgen*, to which there are added the following rates:

For every morgen of ground used as an orchard, being 6 years old or more — F. — 10

For every morgen of tobacco, flax, or hemp — F. 10

25. HARDWARE and LEAD.

The excise on hardware is not specified; but for every 100lb. weight of lead there is paid — F. — 3

26. VARIOUS TAXES.

In the province of Utrecht there is levied an excise of the 9th penny of the value of salmon and sturgeon, and other fish: Also the 100th penny of fat cattle exported, together with taxes on skins, pedlars' wares, and a road duty, or tax on turpikes.

27. TITHES.

Various taxes are paid in this province by those persons who receive any income from tithes.

28. EXCISE on the ALIENATION of GOODS.

On the sale of real chattels there is paid a tax of 4 per cent. On personal effects the 50th penny, or 2 per cent. Gold, silver, and jewels, are excepted.

[K 3]

29. EXCISE

29. EXCISE on COLLATERAL SUCCESSIONS.

In this province the tax is only at the rate of the 20th penny on successions *in linea collateralis et adscendenti*.

30. HOUSE and CHIMNEY DUTY.

The survey of houses in the province of Utrecht is of a very old date. They have since been obliged to double the tax then imposed, and to add a duty upon chimnies; every chimney being charged 3 florins, but chimnies in bed-chambers only one-half.

The following examples will give some idea of the nature and amount of this tax.

A house with 16 chimnies	—	—	F. 48	—
A single house duty	—	—	30	—
Double	—	—	30	—
			108	—

A small house of one bed chamber.				
Two chimnies	—	—	3	—
Single house duty	—	—	2	—
Double	—	—	2	—
			7	—

A small house or cottage of a poor day labourer, pays in general				
For 1 chimney	—	—	1	10
Single house duty	—	—	1	—
Double	—	—	1	—
			3	10

The generality of houses in villages pay in the following manner:				
For 2 chimnies	—	—	F. 6	—
Single house duty	—	—	4	—
Double	—	—	4	—
			14	—

Farm houses pay various rates, in proportion to their size and dimensions.

For instance,				
Single house duty	—	—	F. 30	15
Double	—	—	30	15
Chimney duty	—	—	15	—
			76	15

There is to be added to these sums a small stamp duty on each of — — 8

31. LAND TAX.

There is paid in Utrecht for every morgen a certain duty called oudschid, which varies in different jurisdictions, and sometimes even in the same district. What method was originally adopted for regulating this tax is unknown. There is also paid for every morgen 20 flivers of real, and 15 of personal duty, making together F. 1 15 —

CONCLUSION.

The attentive reader will easily perceive, from the slightest perusal of the preceding paper, that the British financiers and statesmen have already drawn many hints from the mode of levying taxes in Holland. For it is from that country that we have borrowed the great department of the stamps, the taxes on carriages, horses, and servants, the duties on goods sold by auction or acquired by collateral succession, together with some of the regulations in the late tobacco act, and other means of securing the revenue. But the subject is far from being exhausted, as many financial ideas are thrown out in the preceding paper, which might be adopted in this country, more especially the modes practised in either of the provinces of Holland or Utrecht for levying the excise on tea and coffee, which seem to be greatly superior to our commutation tax, and might easily be suited to the present state and circumstances of this country. The tax on livery-stable keepers (see No 23.) is undoubtedly preferable to our mode of levying a tax on post-horses, by farming that branch of the revenue. The receipt tax also might receive very material improvements by regulations similar in principle to those which are established in Utrecht; and if the duty on chimneys, which exists in that province, were adopted, it might be the happy means of furnishing us with a commutation for the pernicious taxes to which we are at present subject, on coal and salt.

In regard to the other taxes in Holland, it is to be hoped that we shall never be reduced to the fatal necessity of laying (in addition to a general land tax) a particular impost upon lands sown with grain and other seeds, or fresh taxes upon fields in pasture, by duties upon cattle, milk cows themselves not excepted; far less that excises shall ever be attempted in these kingdoms upon butter, fruit, garden stuff, fish, poultry, butchers meat; nay, on bread itself. These are taxes at least, which I have found no occasion to enumerate amongst the resources of the nation.

A P P E N D I X.

No. IV.

STATE of the PUBLIC INCOME and EXPENDITURE during the
Reign of KING WILLIAM.

THE following paper is of so important a nature, that it cannot be too generally known. To find in so small a compass an exact account of the income and expenditure of a great nation, for the space of about fourteen years, cannot fail to gratify the curiosity of such as have any relish for political investigations. Similar statements of the receipts and issues of every other reign since the death of king William, would on many accounts, be not a little desirable. Thence it would appear, that the present national debt is much less formidable, than at first sight might be apprehended; when it is compared with the enormous sums levied on, and expended by, this country since the revolution. It might also tend to check the unbounded profusion of kings and ministers (at least of such as have any regard for character, or future fame) if they were to find that the whole expences during their administration can be stated within such narrow bounds, that any one can estimate the burdens and the benefits of their government, and can see, which of them, upon a fair comparison, is intitled to a preference. Above all, the notoriety of, and accessibility to every possible information, regarding the public accounts and political circumstances of the nation, ought to be facilitated; in the first place, as a check to extravagance and profusion, which cannot be too carefully guarded against; and the second place, as an encouragement to any private individual (who has turn for political inquiries) to favour the public with any new lights, or any useful observation that may occur to him, but which, without a knowledge of the real state of facts, he can hardly hazard with any degree of confidence.—The following abstract is therefore printed in the full expectation that a period will soon arrive, when not only similar statements shall be published from authority, of the national income and expenditure, during the reigns of the other sovereigns who have sat upon the throne of Great Britain, since the death of King William; but also when every means shall be adopted, of giving the public at large the fullest and most authentic information, respecting the past and present political situation of the country, in every matter of any real importance, whether foreign or domestic.

A General Abstract of the Receipts and issues of the Public Revenue, Taxes and Loans, during the Reign of King William, from the 5th of November, 1688, to the 25th of March, 1702.

R E C E I P T S.

I. CUSTOMS.

	£.	s.	d.
Customs, besides drawbacks, damages, salaries, &c.	4,235,697	1	6
Ditto from Christmas 1699 to the 1st. Aug. 1706	934,923	8	0½
Impositions on linen, silk, &c. that ended 1st July 1690	143,880	9	6½
Ditto on tobacco and sugar	1,374,232	17	8½
Ditto on wines and vinegar	1,750,388	15	7
Ditto on East India goods, &c. from Christmas 1690	1,801,906	2	9½
Additional impositions on merchandizes, &c. commenced 1st March 1692-3 to the 1st March 1696; thence to the 1st August 1706	501,120	2	0½
New duty on coffee, tea, &c. and ditto continued for paying interest of Irish transports	105,203	11	3½
Additional duty on brandy from 1st March 1693-4	22,691	7	0½
Tonnage duty from 1st June 1694, and ending 17th May 1696	175,335	16	6
Duty on coals (taken off 17th May 1696)	22,004	19	3
Duty on glass and earthen ware, as relating to the coal act	7,750	0	0
Twenty-five per cent. on French Goods	161,349	9	2
New Duty on coals for 5 years, from 15th May 1698	465,857	6	1
Five shillings per ton, French ships, granted 12 Car. II.	1,908	7	2
Twenty-two pence per pound East India silks	19,140	5	5
Plantation duty granted 25 Car. II.	4,708	16	2
Arrears of additional impositions on wine entered 1689	1,900	0	0
New subsidy of tonnage and poundage for 2½ years	764,297	8	9½
Additional tonnage and poundage from January 1699 for his majesty's life	634,548	11	7½
Children, 5d. per chaldron	1,221	0	3½
Fifteen per cent. on India wrought silks and muslins, granted 11th and 12th W.	116,767	18	6
	£. 13,296,833	14	6

II. EXCISE.

Hereditary and temporary excise neat	5,918,887	17	4½
Low wines from 24th December 1690	166,392	17	6
Double excise from 17th November 1690 to ditto 1691	612,291	3	3½
Additional excise of 9d. per barrel from Michaelmas 1698 appropriated	339,610	15	9½
Additional excise, viz. 9d. per barrel, determined 24th July 1692, and double 9d. commenced 17th Nov. 1691, ended 17th May 1692	1,732,497	15	3
Complements of excise, 24d. per barrel, to 24th July 1692, and 30d per barrel thence to the 17th Nov. 1692	381,080	5	9½
Excise for 99 years in the million fund act, from 25th Jan. 1692-3	1,229,727	17	5½
Imports on salt from 25th March 1694, 12d. per bushel granted 7 W. joined with whale fins, Scotch linens, &c. granted 9th and 10th William, for 3 years, from 10th July 1698	436,724	3	0½
Nine-pence excise continued from 17th May 1697, for million lottery tickets, thence for 16 years	644,396	14	6
Excise carried forward	11,471,609	10	3½
			Excise

	£.	s.	d.
Excise brought forward	11,471,603	10	3½
Nine-pence excise made hereditary, from 7th May 1697 for the bank and annuities for 1, 2, and 3 lives in lieu of $\frac{7}{8}$ and $\frac{7}{8}$ tonnage	618,532	5	6½
Duty on malt from 20th April 1697	922,983	10	3½
Additional duty on salt of 8d. from 25th March 1697 to the 25th of October 1699	103,191	16	3½
Twenty pence per bushel salt from 1st July 1698 for the East India Company, and 8d. from 25th October 1699	276,474	12	6
Duty on leather	208,102	16	9
Whale fins, Scotch linen and arrears of glass ware, &c.	46,420	15	10
Low wines, joined with coffee and 15 per cent. muslins by an act 12th and 13th William	12,012	13	2
	£ 13,649,328	0	5½

III. HEARTH MONEY.

Hearth money besides charges of getting in	221,763	18	0½
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IV. LETTER MONEY.

Letter money besides charge of management	871,054	17	11½
Small branches and casualties	915,778	11	2½
	£ 2,008,597	7	8½

V. LAND TAXES.

Present aid or six months tax for 1689	400,914	7	3½
First aid for 12d in the pound for 1689	496,108	6	1
Second aid for 1690	1,016,732	2	7
Additional 12d for 1690	507,866	0	2½
First 12 months for 1691	1,613,747	9	1
Second ditto for 1692	1,613,847	13	5
First 4s aid for 1693	1,922,712	19	4½
Second ditto for 1694	1,913,488	16	4½
Third ditto for 1695	1,860,019	10	2
Fourth ditto for 1696	1,736,248	1	10½
Three shillings aid for 1697	1,244,789	4	0
Additional 12d for 1697	418,646	10	11
Second 2s aid for £1,484,015 11s. 11d. $\frac{1}{2}$ over 2nd above	1,188,021	12	1
£229,696. 4s. 10d. transferred to pay annuities to the bank, &c. for 1698	1,431,771	6	8½
Third 3s aid for the same sum	951,066	6	5
Second 2s aid for £989,965, 19s. 6d. for 1700	859,051	15	2½
$\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 4th 3s aid			
	£ 19,174,059	8	3½

VI. POLLS.

First poll for 1689	288,438	2	1½
Review of the first poll and an additional poll for 1690	23,059	7	1
Second poll 1690	239,953	7	11½
First quarterly poll for 1692	579,178	12	2½
Review of ditto for 1693	6,383	4	0
Second quarterly 1694	486,324	2	2½
Capitation for 1697	612,912	16	9
Third quarterly poll for 1698	321,397	16	3½
	£ 2,557,649	7	7½

VII. PROMISCUOUS TAXES.

	£.	s.	D.
Smugglers' fines to Michaelmas 1698	19,500	0	0
Exchequer bills issued by virtue of an act for establishing a land bank on 1695 (£. 158,589) being repaid as per contra	159,173	1	
Joint stock charged by act of parliament 1692, two quarterly payments	43,219	0	0
First million act in 1693, annuities by 9d excise for 99 years	1,000,000	0	0
Fines and rent on hackney coaches for 1694	41,150	0	0
Paper and parchment duties for 1694, continued to 28th June 1698	205,566	1	2½
New duties on ditto, for two years from 1st March 1698	17,813	8	9½
Million lottery or contributions on salt for 1694	934,512	17	7
On the tonnage act by the bank of England for ditto	1,200,000	0	0
On annuities for 1694 for 1, 2, and 3 lives for £. 300,000	300,000	0	0
Duties on marriages, births, burials, &c. commencing 1st May, 1695, and ending 1st May, 1700	258,094	1	10½
Subscriptions to the national land bank	1,75	0	0
Duties on houses or windows	503,466	10	2½
Money or plate at 6d. an ounce, for malt lottery tickets	17,615	13	1
Additional duty on stamp paper made perpetual, with salt, for the East India Company	153,487	11	5½
Subscriptions of £. 600,000 for the East India trade	1,882,423	9	0½
Parchment and paper stamp duties, continued from 1698, to the 1st August, 1706	152,908	16	10
Purchasing reversionary annuities by several acts of parliament passed in several years	581,750	15	0
Duties on glass and earthen ware	15,732	1	7
Licences to hawkers and pedlars	26,513	15	1
Duties on marriages, births, &c. continued from 1st May, 1700, to 1st August, 1706	17,423	16	2½
	7,531,305	18	11½

VIII. DIVERS RECEIPTS.

Letter money overpaid in 1696	102	16	5½
Surcharged on the Commissioners of excise in 1697	89,695	13	6
Coinage money from 1698, included, in the other years, placed with small branches	42,658	10	0
Tellers malt benefits in 1698	1,715	0	0
Imprest money repaid in 1696 and 1698	162,036	4	2½
Accounts of new money from the mint in the years 97, 98, and 99, in aid of £. 2,599,707, 14s. 10d. per contra, that was deficient in Michaelmas, 1696	184,656	17	11½
Poll anno 1697	50	0	0
	480,915	2	2

ABSTRACT of RECEIPTS.

I. Customs	13,296,833	14	6
II. Excise	13,649,328	0	5½
III. Hearth money	} included together	2,008,597	7 8½
IV. Letter money			
V. Land taxes	19,174,059	8	3½
VI. Polls	2,557,649	7	7½
VII. Promiscuous taxes	7,531,305	18	11½
VIII. Divers receipts	480,915	2	2
Abstract of Receipts carried forward	58,698,688	19	8

Ab-

		£.	s.	d.
Abstract of Receipts brought forward		58,698	688	19 8
Of the general amount of money borrowed and repaid within the time of this account, in several years, the money borrowed exceeding the money repaid in those years respectively the sum of £13,348,680, 5s. 10½d. though in the other years the money repaid exceeded the money borrowed in those years respectively the sum of £3,341,903, 8s. 8½d. as per contra, which reduced the neat money more than repaid during the whole time of this account to £10,006,770, 17s. 1½d.				
		13,348,680	5	10½
There remained on the 5th November 1688, in the Exchequer, in the hands of the several receivers		72,047,369	5	6½
ERROR in the preceding account		20,138	18	0½
Total receipts		£. 72,187,808	3	6½

I S S U E S.

I. N A V Y.

To Anthony lord viscount Falkland late treasurer of the navy, for the navy and victualling		198,068	0	1
To the earl of Oriord, late treasurer of the navy, on the same account		16,940,521	9	10½
To the right honourable Sir Thomas Littleton, treasurer of the navy, on the same account		2,683,551	14	7
		19,822,141	4	6½

II. A R M Y.

For the service of Ireland	Mr. Harbord	1,073,288	12	7½
	Mr. Henley	4,560	0	7½
	Mr. Fox and lord Coningsby	2,773,806	7	9½
		3,851,655	1	0½
To the earl of Ranelagh, for the forces under his pay		18,164,951	24	0½
To colonel Hill, governor of the Leeward Islands, for his own soldiers and arrears		1,200	0	0
		21,017,706	15	0½

III. O R D N A N C E.

To the treasurer of the ordnance, for sea and land service		3,008,535	16	10½
--	--	-----------	----	-----

IV. C I V I L L I S T.

To the cofferer of the household		1,300,130	2	2½
To the treasurer of the chambers		424,763	16	1½
Ditto for the charges of the late Queen's coffin, &c.		328	16	0
Great wardrobe		319,876	8	2½
Ditto for the late Queen's mourning		42,844	4	5
Robes		57,128	8	2½
Ditto to the lord Sidney, upon account of clothes furnished King Charles II. when he was master of that office		5,120	8	3
Paymaster of the works		474,050	15	1½
Ditto on account of the late Queen's funeral		4,000	0	0
Carried forward		2,687,848	5	7
				Brought

SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

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	L.	S.	D.
Brought forward	2,687,242	5	7
Mr. Roberts, paymaster of the works at Windfor, on account of works there, over and above what has been paid thereunto out of the revenues of the honour and castle of Windfor	5,000	0	0
Gardens { Upon account of making his Majesty's gardens over and above the gardeners' salaries, payable by the treasurer of the chamber, until 1695	115,097	12	7½
{ On the contract for £4,800 per annum, commencing from ditto	16,800	0	0
{ On the new allowance of £2,600 per annum, which commenced from Christmas, 1700	1,900	0	0
Stables, and for buying horses, &c.	215,965	15	3½
Foreign ministers, ordinary and extraordinary	462,753	7	2½
Fees and salaries	85,086	16	9
Pensions and annuities	686,189	17	7
Queen Dowager	178,031	15	4
Late Queen's treasurer	506,246	10	1½
Ditto for French Protestants	75,000	0	0
Prince and Princess of Denmark	638,921	15	7½
Duke of Gloucester on £1,500 per annum	37,500	0	0
Band of gentlemen pensioners	69,000	0	0
Secret Services { Secretaries of the treasury	610,323	7	2
{ Secretaries of State	76,963	19	6
{ Particular persons by his Majesty's warrants, under his royal sign manual	82,100	0	0
Privy purse	483,555	0	0
Ditto for purchasing free farm rents to the earl of Portland	24,571	5	4
Ditto to the lord Somers, &c.	33,600	0	0
Jewels	66,069	0	0
Plate	102,843	13	8
Bounties paid at the exchequer to several persons, by his Majesty's particular warrants	226,823	19	1
Monf. Fleury, for goods taken from the French, at Bourbon Fort, Hudson's Bay, and given to the Hudson's Bay Company, which, by the treaty of Ryfwick, were to be restored	7,086	17	0
Subscribers of £2,000,000 for the East India trade, an allowance of 1 per cent.	20,000	0	0
The Receivers of £2,000,000, in reward and for charges in passing their accounts	26,000	0	0
To Mr. Stratford, in part of £20,000, in cloth sent to Sweden	12,000	0	0
Earl Ranekagh for lord Fairfax, £600; bounty to officers' widows £1,670; for French officers, £730; for liveries for Lumley's trumpeters, £393, 3s; and for court drums and fifes salary, £240	3,834	3	0
Contingents of divers natures, viz. law charges, liberates of the exchequer, riding charges to messengers of the court, and receipt of exchequer rewards and extraordinary charges to receivers of taxes, and sundry others on several occasions, surpluses of accounts, printers bills, sundry works and repairs by the surveyors of the woods, the private roads, and other particular officers, his Majesty's subscription of £10,000 to the bank of England, a like sum to the new East India Company, as also £3,000 for carrying on the trade, bounties for apprehending highwaymen, traitors, and libellers, money paid for purchasing land to be laid into his Majesty's park at Windfor, and very many other accidental payments	534,089	1	10½
	8,810,506	2	9

V. DIVERS ISSUES.

States General, pursuant to an act of parliament, anno 1689	600,000	0	0
Servants of King Charles II. by ditto act	60,000	0	0
To the mint out of coinage duty, &c. which includes several payments relating to the re-coinage in general	259,584	17	7½
Redemption of captives	1,000	0	0
Privy purse of the late King James at the exchequer	200	0	0
Principal money lent tempore Jacobi II.	138,412	19	9
To severals, for money advanced in the west, in 1688	4,000	0	0
Interest money paid to severals, out of the revenues, taxes, and loans, and for divers other causes	5,216,530	2	4½
Interest to the Bank of England	875,880	16	9½
Annuities {	On survivorship at 14 per cent. on the million act	1,079,089	2 9½
	On the tonnage for one, two, and three lives, for 300,000	287,059	14 11½
	On a lottery for a million paid in for 16 years annuity	1,049,776	15 5½
To the malt lottery office, in part of £1,200,000, principal and interest	760,242	6	0
To the treasurer of excise, to satisfy tallies of excise, and post office	467,000	0	0
To the English East India Company and general society trading thither, on £160,000 per annum	429,962	3	11½
To the trustees for circulating exchequer bills for premiums, salaries, &c. besides £43,435 inclusive, in account of interest for 1697	254,119	3	7½
Principal money repaid more than borrowed for several years	3,341,503	8	8½
To receivers of taxes, in reward for extraordinary	5,446	9	2½
To Peter Hume, gent. to be applied as his Majesty should direct	5,200	0	0
New money, in part of £122,584, 2s. 1d. old money re-coined, paid the army and navy	84,963	8	2½
To the commissioners of excise in new money, the proceed of old money received from them	56,988	11	5
Clipp'd money delivered to be re-coined more than it produced, to Michaelmas 1696, in aid whereof there was returned from the mint in after years, more than was sent thither in those years, as per contra, £184,656, 17s. 11½d. which reduceth the general deficiency of the re-coinage to £2,413,140, 16, 10½d. the deficiency in the year 1696 amounting to	2,599,797	14	10
To the four tellers of the exchequer in exchequer bills, to be delivered to such persons as brought money for them, in 1695	158,589	0	0
Imprest money repaid to the treasurer of the navy, being old money new coined	4,422	3	7½
New money to the earl of Ranelagh, the proceed of £13,000 in old hammered money	6,497	9	0½
To severals for a reward of 6s. an ounce for wrought plate brought in to be coined	3,846	17	2½
To the treasurer of Greenwich hospital, pursuant to the address of parliament	19,500	0	0
To the commissioners for forfeited estates in Ireland	3,133	15	0
To the commissioners for stating and determining accounts, for incidents, &c.	3,500	0	0
To the tellers of the exchequer for a loss on 89,196½ guineas, received at 2s. and issued at 21s. 6d.	2,229	18	3
Interest of the bankers' debts	466	1	7
	27,779,243	1	11
That remained in balance at the foot of the half-year's account, ending at Lady Day, 1702	619,159	13	6½
	28,398,402	15	5½

Add

Add that remained at Michaelmas, 1699, more than was carried forward to the account of 1700, occasioned by several sums then remaining in the hands of several receivers, for which they afterwards accounted with the auditors of the imprest

1,326 1 7½

18,399,728 17 1½

Deduct that was carried to account from Michaelmas, 1701, more than the balance at Michaelmas, 1701 occasioned by so much less applied out of the 2d and 3d aid, anno 1699, to pay arrears on annuities for one two and three lives, and was afterwards applied to the cancelling exchequer bills instead of those annuities

1,110 12 8½

18,398,618 4 4½

ABSTRACT OF ISSUES.

I. Navy	—	—	19,822,741	4	6½
II. Army	—	—	22,017,706	15	0½
III. Ordnance	—	—	3,008,515	16	0½
IV. Civil list	—	—	8,880,506	2	9
V. Sundry issues	—	—	18,398,618	4	4½
Total issues	—	—	72,127,508	3	6½

The receipts and issues thus exactly balance each other, and it is remarkable to find in a matter of such magnitude, the error of a single farthing (see p. 82.) specially taken notice of. A full proof of the care and accuracy with which the public accounts were kept, for some time posterior to the revolution. How far the same attention has been paid to them in later times, and whether similar abstracts of the receipts and issues are still regularly drawn up, is more than the author has yet been able to discover, however anxious he has been to obtain information upon the subject*.

* I have been fortunate enough to procure (after a copy of so curious and important a manuscript had been lost, by the person to whom it was intrusted) an account of receipts and issues up to the 27th of March, 1714. Since that period the votes of parliament, and the state of public services and grants annually laid before the house of commons, are the principal sources of information to which the author has had access. They are far, however, from being so complete as an accurate investigation of the subject would require, and more especially the sums annually paid to the public creditors, the nature of the civil list expenditure, and indeed many other important particulars connected with the subject of our revenue, are left totally uncertain or indefinite.

APPENDIX.

No. V.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
AMOUNT OF FOREIGN PROPERTY,
IN THE
ENGLISH FUNDS.

AMONG other important particulars connected with the finances of the country, proper to ascertain, it would be extremely desirable to know the amount of foreign property in the funds of this country, being a point of very great consequence, and respecting which the public has never received any authentic information. The author has been the better enabled to gratify a very natural curiosity on this head, by his accidentally meeting with a complete account, (in manuscript), of the names of our foreign creditors, and the amount of their respective debts, (in so far as they were transferable at the bank of England), as they stood in the year 1762. On that foundation, he has drawn up some calculations, which he flatters himself will throw light upon the subject, and will satisfy the public that the mysterious secrecy observed in regard to this matter, is perfectly unnecessary, and that any apprehensions entertained respecting the dangerous magnitude of foreign property in our funds, are fortunately ill founded,

SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

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An ABSTRACT of certain ACCOUNTS drawn up in 1762, shewing how much of the several Funds transferable at the Bank of England, stood in the Names of Foreigners, or their Agents, drawn up from the respective Dividend Books, at the Dates herein after mentioned.

VOL. III.

Date.	FUNDS.	Number of Foreign Creditors in each Fund.	Sums in Foreigners Names.	In their Agents Names.	Total Sums belonging to Foreigners.	Amount of Interest annually received by Foreigners.
1762.	1. Perpetual Annuities.					
July 5.	1. Consolidated £3 per cent. Annuities	2,440	£ 5,782,464 16 7	£ 348,613 9 8	£ 6,131,078 6 3	£ 184,132 7 1
	2. £3 per cent. Annuities	(1726) 78	167,412 10 —	—	167,412 10 —	5,244 15 8
	3. £3 3/4 per cent. Annuities	(1756) 137	194,185 — —	2,820 — —	197,005 — —	6,805 13 6
	4. £3 1/2 per cent. Annuities	(1758) 150	287,526 — —	30,300 — —	326,826 — —	1,438 18 2
	5. Consolidated £4 per cent. Annuities	(1762) 725	1,675,164 — —	189,555 — —	1,864,719 — —	73,050 11 8
Oct. 10.	6. Bank Stock (then at 5 per cent.)	2,025	4,578,630 4 1/2	49,328 — 10	4,627,958 5 2	231,332 18 5
	7. Reduced £3 per cent Annuities	775	1,669,216 16 7	9,500 — —	1,678,716 16 7	50,373 10 —
		6,330	14,316,979 7 8	619,416 10 1	14,936,395 18 —	562,338 4 6
1762.	2. Temporary Annuities					
July 5.	1. Long Annuities amounting to £128,250 per annum of interest, but properly speaking without any capital (1761)	303	3,563 19 6	5,141 14 10	8,705 14 4	8,705 14 4
	2. Long Annuities of £120,000 per annum, but without any correspondent capital (1762)	87	1,675 — —	3,894 10 —	5,569 10 —	5,569 10 —
		6,520	14,322,218 7 2	648,452 15 4	14,970,671 2 4	576,613 8 10

[L]

No notice is taken in this account of the foreign property in the funds of the South Sea, or of the East India Company. But it is rather improbable that in either of them it would be very considerable. In regard to India stock, the Dutch, who are our principal foreign creditors, would not be much disposed to take a concern in that fund, to support the credit of a rival company, by which their own trade might be materially injured. On the supposition, however, that they possessed a million in each of the funds transferable at the South Sea and at the India House, their whole capital might then amount to seventeen millions, and the interest to about seven hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

With the foundation of the preceding account, it may be possible to form some idea of the interest which foreigners possess in our funds. We shall suppose that in the different perpetual and temporary annuities, their property is doubled since the year 1762 (in the Bank stock alone excepted, of which we have information to be depended on); consequently they would have in the 3 and 4 per cents. about 20,627,075*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* bearing an interest of 661,890*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*

In the long annuities, according to the same proportion, their annual interest would amount to 28,550*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

Their interest in the Bank stock has decreased much. *Anno* 1762, it amounted to 4,627,858*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* *Anno* 1778, to 3,156,688*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* And *anno* 1782, to 2,833,276*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* If it still continues so considerable (the interest paid on bank stock being at the rate of 7 per cent.) foreigners would receive the sum of 198,329*l.* 8*s.* per annum for their property in that fund.

Anno 1783, they possessed 757,128*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* of India stock, bearing an interest of 8 per cent. and 159,447*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* of East India 3 per cent. annuities.

As these calculations are rather large than otherwise, it seems to be unnecessary to make any addition on account of their interest in the 5 per cent. stocks, the unfunded debt of the nation, or the other funds in which they may have some concern.

The following will then be an abstract of the amount of Foreign Property in the English Funds:

	Capital.	Interest.
1. In the 3 per cents. and the other perpetual annuities due to individuals	£.20,657,075 5 8	£.661,890 12 2
2. In the temporary annuities	28,550 8 8	28,550 8 8
3. Bank stock	2,833,276 10 6	198,329 8 0
4. India stock	757,128 13 3	60,570 4 0
5. India annuities	159,447 11 10	4,783 4 0
	<u>£24,435,478 9 12</u>	<u>954,123 16 10</u>

I should imagine indeed that even this is an exaggerated calculation. It is some satisfaction however to find, that considering the immensity of our debts, there is so much reason to believe that so small a proportion of them belong to foreigners.

The astonishing decrease also in the interest they possess in the Bank stock, is well entitled to attention. In the space of about twenty years, from 1762

to 1782, the difference is no less a sum than 1,794,581*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* But such were the groundless apprehensions entertained, respecting the public credit of the country, towards the close of the American war, that it is not to be wondered at that our foreign creditors should be desirous of diminishing their property in our funds, when they had a favourable opportunity, in consequence of the rise of Bank stock, to sell out to advantage.

A P P E N D I X.

No. VI.

TABLES of the PROGRESS of the most important Branches of
the PUBLIC REVENUE.

AMONG the other sources of information, for the purpose of carrying on this work, which the Author collected, he had the good fortune to procure some large maps or tables, containing the progress of some of the most productive branches of the revenue. They were probably drawn up for the consideration of some zealous and attentive minister, who was desirous of establishing some useful regulations in the finances of the country. The following accounts are abstracts of the most important particulars contained in the tables. It is with regret that they are published without being brought down to a later period, but the author has not been able to accomplish it.

An ACCOUNT of the annual gross PRODUCE of the CUSTOMS from Christmas 1710, to Christmas 1762, distinguishing their progressive State in different Periods of Peace and War; together with the Amount of the Debentures, or Drawbacks, Bounties, Charges of Management, and the Net Produce thereof.

SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

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Year ending at Christmas.	Gross Produce.			Debentures.	Bounties.	Charges of Management.	Net Produce, after deducting the Expenses of Management and various other Charges.	Payments into the Exchequer each year.
	£	s.	d.	£	£	£	£	£
1711	2,259,527	11	2½	799,847	44,370	140,829	1,217,611	1,253,198
1712	2,207,969	5	11½	566,191	40,160	144,857	1,407,850	1,315,423
War	4,467,496	7	8	1,366,038	84,530	285,686	2,825,461	2,568,621
	2,501,292	8	4½	778,981	100,614	145,681	1,424,064	1,541,172
	2,723,910	6	4½	689,082	44,223	160,561	1,779,705	1,714,139
	2,386,238	—	6½	780,215	82,059	156,257	1,414,357	1,517,438
	2,744,078	5	5	696,056	46,469	156,826	1,796,963	1,742,884
	2,833,091	18	4	718,899	50,454	163,813	1,818,003	1,810,259
	2,993,557	—	6½	768,316	62,951	165,158	1,961,045	1,800,094
	2,744,203	—	1½	798,080	85,985	172,264	1,602,689	1,631,269
	2,749,855	13	5½	809,898	70,825	183,483	1,590,912	1,559,255
	2,943,040	10	4½	920,296	67,179	174,671	1,724,948	1,555,659
Peace proclaimed 1st April 1713.	24,579,367	3	10½	7,071,243	610,759	1,476,924	15,112,696	14,872,169
	2,501,292	8	4½	778,981	100,614	145,681	1,424,064	1,541,172
	2,723,910	6	4½	689,082	44,223	160,561	1,779,705	1,714,139
	2,386,238	—	6½	780,215	82,059	156,257	1,414,357	1,517,438
	2,744,078	5	5	696,056	46,469	156,826	1,796,963	1,742,884
	2,833,091	18	4	718,899	50,454	163,813	1,818,003	1,810,259
	2,993,557	—	6½	768,316	62,951	165,158	1,961,045	1,800,094
	2,744,203	—	1½	798,080	85,985	172,264	1,602,689	1,631,269
	2,749,855	13	5½	809,898	70,825	183,483	1,590,912	1,559,255
	2,943,040	10	4½	920,296	67,179	174,671	1,724,948	1,555,659

War

[L 3]

Peace proclaimed 1st April 1713.

Years ending at Christmas.	Gross Produce.	Debitations.	Bonuses.	Charges of Management.	Net Produce, after deducting the Expenses of Management and various other Charges.	Payments into the Exchequer each year.
Peace.	1722	£. 2,716,864	£. 993,973	£. 180,634	£. 1,418,918	£. 1,598,047
	1723	2,985,148	871,322	18,546	1,794,140	1,621,172
	1724	2,865,579	862,997	88,771	1,724,438	1,740,228
	1725	2,630,221	723,06	124,901	1,582,119	1,618,812
	1726	2,738,994	951,854	100,180	1,475,550	1,498,722
	1727	2,755,597	847,886	62,282	1,658,184	1,583,483
	1728	3,451,074	1,144,069	20,370	2,080,764	1,872,362
	1729	3,025,105	1,128,053	31,054	1,654,576	1,656,063
	1730	2,989,517	1,146,881	52,570	1,585,326	1,658,897
		26,167,903	8,671,341	684,064	14,974,155	14,848,595
Peace.	1731	3,002,287	1,031,410	85,203	1,656,563	1,491,692
	1732	2,733,904	1,230,479	78,843	1,317,139	1,605,845
	1733	3,149,111	900,283	125,175	1,911,056	1,577,019
	1734	2,748,119	1,028,079	224,663	1,319,319	1,434,934
	1735	3,042,907	1,166,752	204,031	1,556,363	1,503,124
	1736	3,005,259	1,127,062	68,825	1,602,880	1,544,195
	1737	3,173,616	1,234,571	122,636	1,599,873	1,562,024
	1738	2,966,511	1,067,009	196,640	1,481,569	1,453,283
	1739	3,054,731	1,206,523	107,064	1,470,898	1,409,313
		26,912,648	9,922,707	1,170,214	13,938,420	13,661,999

SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

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War with Spain, 19th October 1749.

War with France, 15th March 1744.

Peace, 7th October 1748.

War

[14]

1740	2,633,892	10	4 1/2	1,244,452	57,882	805,560	2,272,812	1,301,486
1741	3,332,995	18	4 1/2	1,348,919	57,725	219,783	1,704,129	1,547,795
1742	2,727,798	1	11 1/2	1,470,878	111,047	215,343	979,433	1,212,921
1743	3,953,444	14	4 1/2	1,653,441	156,047	218,413	1,503,677	1,260,461
1744	2,724,243	5	2 1/2	1,359,769	138,477	210,896	1,002,597	1,097,295
1745	2,974,604	17	2 1/2	1,335,528	134,839	208,366	1,198,241	1,184,941
1746	2,706,899	21	5	1,294,476	128,802	214,962	905,538	1,071,558
1747	3,209,815	19	2 1/2	1,357,681	136,114	206,164	1,370,741	1,319,945
	23,503,694	18	1 1/2	10,954,154	959,933	1,699,488	9,827,027	9,826,787
1748	3,691,094	16	5 1/2	1,336,235	229,612	214,861	1,802,562	1,498,617
1749	3,543,280	5	11	1,559,572	260,713	210,518	2,515,329	1,622,408
1750	3,086,185	9	1 1/2	1,534,483	321,580	201,994	1,614,982	1,564,920
1751	3,584,009	12	2 1/2	1,592,441	211,813	215,857	1,537,733	1,540,698
1752	3,917,212	—	1	1,520,968	224,490	212,662	1,892,871	1,735,213
1753	4,080,492	28	8 1/2	1,927,223	308,400	214,358	2,612,704	2,081,148
1754	3,898,516	5	4 1/2	1,874,568	227,434	219,187	1,550,413	1,600,268
1755	3,793,666	24	9 1/2	1,727,104	262,762	227,341	1,542,066	1,714,075
	30,199,468	22	1	13,079,294	2,046,863	1,717,088	13,159,060	12,974,347
1756	3,194,438	5	1 1/2	1,166,019	199,815	233,910	1,487,872	1,670,378
1757	3,768,734	14	11 1/2	1,297,918	229,646	231,279	2,118,359	1,900,994
1758	3,616,755	23	2 1/2	1,427,309	115,114	227,871	1,817,027	1,824,298
1759	3,621,376	6	3 1/2	1,191,724	226,315	233,853	1,985,396	1,912,072
1760	4,250,704	22	4 1/2	1,469,224	231,226	234,115	2,295,791	1,960,933
1761	4,098,022	12	2	2,068,805	229,874	231,783	1,704,729	1,888,151
1762	3,999,584	2	6 1/2	1,716,991	274,726	233,071	1,735,764	1,854,217
	26,471,616	6	8 1/2	10,338,820	1,421,936	1,625,814	13,144,898	12,989,038

Years ending at Christmas.	Payments into the Exchequer.
1762	1,858,417
1763	2,249,663
1764	2,169,472
1765	2,271,221
1766	2,481,800
1767	2,355,850
1768	2,445,006
1769	2,630,006
1770	2,541,143
1771	2,642,129
1772	2,525,595
1773	2,439,017
1774	2,567,769
1775	2,481,031
1776	2,480,401
1777	2,229,105
1778	2,162,681
1779	2,502,273
1780	2,723,910
1781	2,791,228
1782	2,861,563
1783	2,822,320
1784	3,226,619
1785	4,521,091
1786	4,066,912
1787	3,673,807
1788	3,180,770
1789†	3,686,994

† From these sums an extraordinary Payment of an old East India Debt, is to be deducted, of 522,500*l.* and 1*l.* another an. 1786.

‡ Of late the Customs have decreased, from a part of the wine duties being sent to the excise an. 1787, and some of the tobacco duties, an. 1788.

An ACCOUNT of the annual gross PRODUCE of the EXCISE from Midsummer 1711, to Midsummer 1765, distinguishing the progressive State in different Periods of Peace and War; together with the Charges of Management, and Net Produce thereof.

	Years ending at Midsum- mer.	Gross Produce.	Charges of Management.	Net Produce, after deduct- ing the Ex- pence of Management and other Charges.
		£.	£.	£.
	1712	1,907,884	200,041	1,650,672
		1,907,884	200,041	1,650,672
Peace proclaimed, 11th April 1713.	1713	2,217,156	216,220	1,926,972
	1714	2,111,559	210,557	1,935,523
	1715	2,296,139	210,096	2,025,518
	1716	2,422,481	213,414	2,121,262
	1717	2,564,441	214,383	2,205,269
	1718	2,540,587	210,615	2,208,393
	1719	2,589,957	203,659	2,215,269
	1720	2,560,020	201,755	2,231,019
	1721	2,574,437	200,952	2,253,480
		21,763,777	1,882,651	19,066,705
Peace.	1722	2,758,521	203,861	2,421,876
	1723	2,787,250	208,203	2,446,518
	1724	2,638,115	208,925	2,336,992
	1725	2,877,019	214,942	2,529,293
	1726	2,723,397	212,221	2,408,267
	1727	2,905,809	225,051	2,621,346
	1728	2,700,928	228,739	2,441,467
	1729	2,717,719	221,856	2,416,378
	1730	2,935,440	229,405	2,666,014
		25,088,588	1,973,204	22,235,051
Peace.	1731	2,951,097	229,309	2,660,422
	1732	2,964,617	228,479	2,670,442
	1733	3,146,556	230,745	2,862,392
	1734	2,981,857	231,242	2,698,512
	1735	2,896,545	231,219	2,608,843
	1736	2,605,188	226,774	2,380,511
	1737	2,977,910	220,631	2,673,604
	1738	3,006,257	234,335	2,697,130
	1739	3,071,842	231,999	2,758,297
		26,888,869	2,026,733	24,247,693

ANALYSIS OF THE

	Years ending at Midsum- mer.	Gross Pro- duce.	Charges of Manage- ment.	Net Produce, after deducting the Expense of Management, and other Charges.
<hr/>				
War with Spain, 19th October 1739.	1740	£. 2,876,028	£. 231,702	£. 2,580,219 — —
	1741	2,676,624	227,505	2,366,882 — —
	1742	2,913,246	237,798	2,581,716 — —
	1743	2,927,405	234,613	2,609,193 — —
	1744	3,206,545	235,425	2,877,464 — —
War with France, 25th March 1744.	1745	2,993,526	236,955	2,682,467 — —
	1746	3,046,836	238,899	2,729,144 — —
	1747	3,311,187	239,246	2,974,141 — —
		21,951,475	1,882,143	21,407,336 — —
<hr/>				
Peace, 17th October 1748.	1748	3,433,586	242,719	3,088,813 — —
	1749	3,501,926	245,776	3,148,497 — —
	1750	3,540,853	243,567	3,185,408 — —
	1751	3,636,765	253,756	3,270,611 — —
	1752	3,535,548	263,901	3,151,080 — —
	1753	3,672,316	254,970	3,287,015 — —
	1754	3,830,510	257,059	3,453,177 — —
	1755	3,813,198	264,607	3,430,248 — —
		28,973,699	2,026,355	26,014,849 — —
<hr/>				
War with France, 12th March 1756.	1756	3,731,259	269,934	3,350,992 — —
	1757	3,408,982	267,002	3,028,254 — —
	1758	3,677,719	274,514	3,286,225 — —
	1759	3,874,655	276,173	3,470,577 — —
	1760	4,302,623	278,002	3,887,349 — —
	1761	5,137,229	288,680	4,612,220 — —
	1762	5,145,726	291,589	4,592,528 — —
		29,278,213	1,946,094	26,228,745 — —
<hr/>				
Peace, 10th Feb. 1763.	1763	4,938,977	297,732	4,480,147 — —
	1764	5,294,031	290,672	4,808,640 — —
	1765	5,211,919	301,935	4,732,307 — —
		15,444,977	899,339	14,021,094 — —
<hr/>				
Peace.	1766	—	—	— — —
	1767	—	—	— — —
	1768	—	—	— — —
	1769	—	—	— — —
	1770	—	—	— — —
	1771	—	—	4,507,766 8 11
	1772	—	—	4,619,157 3 7
	1773	—	—	4,782,446 3 10
	1774	—	—	4,570,835 6 6
	1775	—	—	5,031,006 17 7
	1776	—	—	4,866,813 7 —
	1777	—	—	5,079,106 5 11
	1778	—	—	5,074,102 14 6
	1779	—	—	5,387,047 0 9

SOURCES OF PUBLIC REVENUE.

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	Years ending at Midsum- mer.			Net Produce, after deducting the Expense of Management, and other Charges.		
				£.	s.	d.
Peace.	1780	—	—	5,749,060	16	10
	1781	—	—	5,828,012	13	2
	1782	—	—	5,758,657	0	1
	1783	—	—	5,515,009	4	12
	1784	—	—	5,584,237	8	6
	1785	—	—	5,482,385	5	9
	1786	—	—			
	1787	—	—			
	1788	—	—	6,503,655	8	2
	1789	—	—	6,861,067	16	9

N. B. The net produce, and the charges of management, are not fully equal to the gross produce, as there are some other charges, which it was thought unnecessary to particularise, to be also deducted.

Such is the general progress of the duties of the Excise. The following branches of it are separately stated, as containing important political information.

1. Progress of the Duty on Spirits.			2. Duty on Candles.			3. Duty on Hops.		
Per Annum.			Net Produce.			Net Produce.		
Anno 1712	—	£.37,646	Anno 1712	—	£.118,923	Anno 1712	—	£.50,184
Medium to 1712 inclusive	—	34,237	Medium to 1721	—	114,137	Medium to 1721	—	36,804
Ditto to 1730	—	47,304	1730	—	146,549	1730	—	50,361
Ditto to 1739	—	76,40	1 39	—	153,198	1739	—	49,122
Ditto to 1747	—	254,68	1747	—	156,085	1747	—	58,278
Ditto to 1755	—	361,427	1755	—	154,948	1755	—	77,365
Ditto to 1762	—	340,774	1762	—	167,184	1762	—	71,692
Ditto to 1765	—	449,535	1765	—	173,200	1765	—	61,512
The highest produce anno 1761	—	581,067	Highest produce ann. 1764	—	185,638	Highest produce ann. 1761	—	118,513
4. Duty on Hides.			5. Duty on Glass.			6. Duty on Coaches.		
Net Produce.			Net Produce.			Net Produce.		
Anno 1712	—	£.115,718	Produce anno 1747	—	£.34,837	Duty anno 1748	—	£.60,844
Medium to 1721	—	180,190	Medium ending ann. 1755	—	57,379	Medium ending 1755	—	57,082
1730	—	194,970	Ditto 1762	—	64,290	Ditto 1762	—	63,507
1739	—	199,019	Ditto 1765	—	80,010	Ditto 1765	—	69,573
1747	—	183,032						
1755	—	197,148						
1762	—	207,145						
1765	—	225,130						
Highest produce ann. 1764	—	236,371						

An ACCOUNT of the GROSS PRODUCE of the STAMP DUTIES from August 1712 to ditto 1766, together with the Charges of Management, and Net Produce thereof.

Years ending in August.	Gross Produce.	Charges of Manage- ment.	Net Produce.
	£.	£.	£.
1713	107,779	14,295	93,483
1714	119,138	13,789	105,349
1715	146,493	15,502	130,991
1716	127,401	15,497	111,904
1717	137,867	15,685	122,182
1718	137,099	16,717	120,382
1719	135,640	17,502	118,137
1720	167,016	18,670	148,345
1721	160,816	18,512	142,304
	<u>1,239,249</u>	<u>146,169</u>	<u>1,093,079</u>
1722	143,099	18,413	124,685
1723	150,482	20,072	130,409
1724	146,522	19,920	126,602
1725	149,608	21,825	127,782
1726	147,456	19,863	127,592
1727	155,566	21,212	134,353
1728	162,272	21,339	140,933
1729	153,948	19,940	134,008
1730	152,632	20,446	132,186
	<u>1,361,585</u>	<u>183,030</u>	<u>1,178,555</u>
1731	165,335	19,974	145,361
1732	141,531	20,126	121,404
1733	137,254	20,928	116,325
1734	136,894	20,024	116,870
1735	139,581	20,826	118,754
1736	140,081	20,892	119,189
1737	143,911	21,243	122,668
1738	140,800	20,246	120,554
1739	135,024	20,554	114,470
	<u>1,282,411</u>	<u>184,813</u>	<u>1,097,598</u>
1740	137,450	20,330	117,120
1741	140,556	22,079	118,476
1742	140,115	22,606	117,509
1743	139,837	24,226	115,611
1744	142,056	22,833	119,222
1745	140,816	20,722	120,094
1746	134,333	20,851	113,481
1747	142,124	21,807	120,317
1748	141,808	20,684	121,124
	<u>1,249,095</u>	<u>196,138</u>	<u>1,052,956</u>

Years ending in August.	Gross Produce.	Charges of Manage- ment	Net Produce.
	£.	£.	£.
1749	139,359	21,719	117,640
1750	141,257	21,263	119,994
1751	138,129	20,569	117,559
1752	138,804	20,755	118,049
1753	134,884	21,021	111,862
1754	137,151	20,562	116,589
1755	140,738	20,629	120,109
1756	149,762	20,557	129,204
1757	231,695	24,235	207,459
	<u>1,351,779</u>	<u>193,312</u>	<u>1,158,467</u>
1758	292,684	24,958	267,725
1759	287,537	26,677	260,860
1760	290,292	27,085	263,207
1761	308,804	28,053	280,751
1762	292,972	27,358	265,614
1763	307,168	28,253	278,914
1764	305,353	27,083	278,269
1765	310,725	28,810	281,914
1766	313,848	28,581	285,266
	<u>2,709,383</u>	<u>246,858</u>	<u>2,462,525</u>

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